the SHADOW

INFORMATION IS STRENGTH • KNOWLEDGE IS POWER

LOWER EAST SIDE GARDENS THREATENED BY YUPPIE CONDOS

Antonio Pagán Pushes Housing Scam; City Council Vote Ignores Public Hearings

By Nancy Drew, Chris Flash, A. Kronstadt

If you follow your nose down the sewer drain of raw deals leading up to the housing development project called Del Este Village, you will come across Lower East Side City Councilman Antonio Pagán. Pagán, who has spent his two terms in office displacing Latino people in his district with well-to-do white folks, is a key proponent of the Del Este Village condominium project which is slated to displace three vital community gardens on the Lower East Side.

Pagán is a member of two key council committees charged with the privatization of city-owned property throughout New York City, mostly property seized from private landlords for back taxes and occupied by low-income tenants.

The 10 BC Garden on 10th Street between Avenues B and C, the Chico Mendez Mural Garden on 11th Street between Avenues A and B, along with two smaller plots on East 11th Street, are all expected to be leveled at the end of September in order to make way for 98 duplex condos with 30 foot private backyards (see Este Village location map--Ed.)

But this condo project means a lot more than just the bulldozing of a few flowers and trees. As the name of the project--a rather lame effort at Spanglish--might indicate, Del Este Village is part of a much larger development strategy by Pagán and the real estate industry in New York to remap Loisaida as a trendy enclave for the "middle class"--and soon to be upper middle class.

The Del Este project is sponsored by the New York City Housing Partnership, a large consortium of banks, financial and real estate interests that has become the leading developer of new housing on city-owned land. The developer is Donald Capoccia of BFC Partners, who is also one of Pagán's leading campaign contributors. The community sponsor is Lower East Side Coalition Housing Development (LESCHD), the non-profit housing group that Pagán controls, but which is currently being fronted by Zulma Zayas, Pagán's campaign manager in his unsuccessful bid for the Manhattan borough presidency.

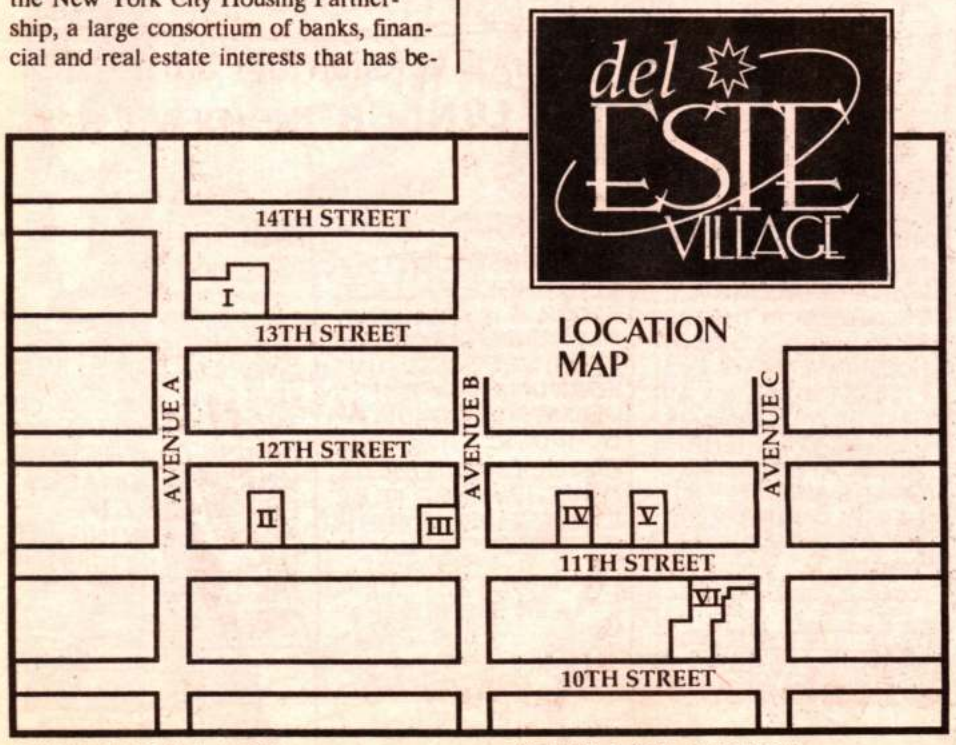
Over the years, LESCHD has used city, state, federal and corporate funding to create "low-income" housing that reverts to LESCHD's ownership after only 10-15 years. What appears to be a low-income housing program is in reality a real-estate privatization scam.

Pagán used his City Council influence to get site control of five consecutive buildings on 13th Street for LESCHD and have squatters who occupied them for more than 10 years violently evicted by police. Pagán and Capoccia have now set their sights on six city-owned lots, most occupied by community gardens which are threatened with immediate demolition.

After years of facilitating the takeover of numerous city-owned properties on the Lower East Side for phony low-income housing, Pagán is no longer even trying to appear to be creating housing for low-income tenants.

It was Pagán who introduced the NYC Partnership project for approval by the City Council, and it is Pagán who

See GARDEN PLOT On Page 4



SITE I: VACANT LOT
SITE II: MENDEZ MURAL GARDEN
SITE III: 11TH ST. CASITA
SITE IV: TOY GARDEN
SITE V: 11 BC GARDEN
SITE VI: 10 BC GARDEN

PAGÁN LOSES, *YOU WIN*!!

By A. Kronstadt + Chris Flash

In a rare victory of popular will over real estate money and machine politics, Lower East Side housing activist Margarita Lopez has won the Democratic Party primary in a hotly-contested race for the Second District City Council seat being vacated by poverty pimp and real estate stooge Antonio Pagán.

Lopez edged out Judith Rapfogel, New York State Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver's anointed successor to Pagán, by a slim margin of just over 200 votes. Albert Fabozzi, a bumbling half-psychotic busybody who briefly served as chairman of Community Board Three as Pagán's appointee, failed in his role as a spoiler against Lopez and garnered only about 600 votes. Lopez now faces a general election on November 4 in which she may be opposed by a much humbled Rapfogel, now on the "Liberal" line, and Betty Lugo, a little known Republican candidate.

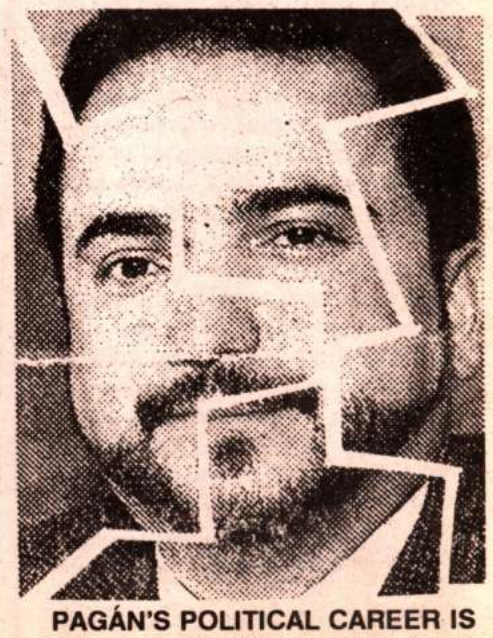
The Lopez victory was a welcome surprise for those who followed the primary results on the evening of September 9 and read the papers the next morning. The media reported Rapfogel as the winner by 168 votes, but there is a strange story regarding this piece of misinformation (or disinformation, depending on how you look at it).

Poll watchers for Margarita Lopez' campaign kept a close eye on the counting of votes all night on September 9 and tallied pretty much the same figures as the ones now accepted, with Margarita winning by about 150 votes.

However, after the votes were counted, the voting machines, along with duplicates of the inspector's report of the tally for each machine, were packed off to the local police precinct for safekeeping, with a report of the vote total sent to the Board of Elections central computer by the police officer assigned to that task.

Somewhere along this chain of communication, the tally for Rapfogel on some unspecified machine was boosted from 35 votes to 350 votes. This is the number that got reported to the Board of Elections, so all night long and the next day, it was reported that Rapfogel was the winner. In spite of the obvious temptation to interpret this as some kind of conspiracy, Lopez campaign worker Michael Farrin told the *SHADOW*: "I don't think anybody was fooling around. It was probably a mistake. But the media are a little bit sanguine about these early numbers, which have endless possibility for error, and Rapfogel cynically claimed victory and the glare of publicity went to her anyhow."

The Lopez primary victory is the mirror image of Pagán's City Council primary victory in 1991, in which he



PAGÁN'S POLITICAL CAREER IS SHATTERED, BUT HE HAS OTHER SCHEMES IN MIND!!

edged out then-incumbent Miriam Friedlander by 93 votes in a highly disputed vote count. SHADOW sources suspect that the tally had been manipulated in 1991 in the same manner that the vote was miscounted in Rapfogel's favor on September 9. Fortunately, the true vote was revealed this time around, preventing a repeat of the stolen 1991 primary, after which Pagán coasted to victory in the general election.

Margarita Lopez will not have it so easy in the November 4 general election. Unlike Pagán, she is not kingmaker Shelly Silver's hand-picked candidate. Margarita is an avowed opponent of real estate interests who has ridden buses to Albany with tenants to lobby for rent regulations and marched in the streets with neighborhood residents who want to save the Lower East Side community gardens from real estate developers. She also fought hard and successfully to stop the eviction of tenants in city housing projects under Giuliani's "Moving to Work" program.

Mayoral candidate Ruth Messinger broke her initial promise to endorse Margarita and ended up backing Rapfogel, obviously under pressure from Sheldon Silver. The *New York Times*, in its finite wisdom (and loyalty to its real estate interests) stamped its seal of approval on Rapfogel's City Council bid. So, it seems, all of the forces of wealth and power are arrayed against Margarita Lopez, and all she has on her side are thousands of registered voters who enjoy living in their neighborhood and don't want to be displaced by yuppies and 70-story condos.

See PAGÁN LOSER On Page 4

EDITORIALS

AMERICAN JUSTICE: RACISTS YES; RAPISTS NO!!

By Steven Wishnia

If you're going to commit a racist atrocity, make sure it isn't a sex crime. That might be the lesson to be learned from the rape/torture of Abner Louima in the bathroom of a Brooklyn police station.

If the 70th Precinct cops had wanted to murder Louima, they probably would have been able to get away with it. A little tweaked ballistic evidence, some time for the officers to match their stories, and the courts and prosecutors probably wouldn't have looked too closely before ruling it justifiable homicide.

Officer Francis Livoti was never prosecuted for strangling Anthony Baez. No police were ever convicted of the 1983 murder of Michael Stewart, killed in police custody after being arrested for writing graffiti in the First Avenue L-train station. (Stewart's eyeballs, which could have provided convincing forensic evidence that he too was choked to death, disappeared from the city medical examiner's office during the investigation.) And in the 1970s, the Queens cop who killed 11-year-old Clifford Glover got off on the grounds that he suffered from a rare form of epilepsy--one that only affected him during the few seconds when he was firing bullets into the boy's back.

But the crude sexual sadism of the attack on Louima is too blatant and over-the-top to be passed off as justifiable force or the toughness needed to control the dark forces of underclass criminality. (It also left a living witness, and plenty of forensic evidence in the form of Louima's shredded intestines.)

There is a historical parallel here--and it does not reflect well on the New York City police or the Giuliani administration. One of the few times between 1900 and 1965--if not the only time-that a member of the Ku Klux Klan was convicted of a crime against a black person in the Deep South came in 1959, when four members of a Klan chapter in Birmingham, Alabama were jailed for castrating Edward Aaron in 1957.

Klan members and other Southern whites had killed hundreds of blacks with impunity for decades, even winning acquittal in nationally publicized cases with strong forensic evidence against them, such as the 1955 murder of 14-year-old Emmett Till in Mississippi. "Had [they] accused Aaron of being a troublemaker and shot him dead on the roadside, [they'd] be freed," wrote William Bradford Huie in *Three Lives for Mississippi*. "But this is different."

As with the Louima assault, the blatant sexual atrocity of the attack on Aaron was too hard to swallow even for an all-white Birmingham jury. According to two Klansmen who testified against ringleader Bart Floyd and the three others, the four had kidnapped Aaron, a quiet 34-year-old handyman, castrated him with a razor blade and poured turpentine in his wound in order for Floyd to prove he was tough enough to head the chapter. The four were sentenced to 20 years in prison. (They were all out within six years; Governor George Wallace's appointees to the state parole board voted to release them.)

Force is part of police work. Cops cannot reasonably be expected to restrain themselves to "Excuse me, Mr. Armed Robber, would you mind putting your hands out for these cuffs here." But "Giuliani Time"--ever since the 1992 rally when he exhorted hundreds of drunken white cops who were shouting racial slurs at City Hall--has been marked by tolerance of, and even pride, in police excesses. Giuliani has resisted any attempt to oversee police conduct beyond the utterly toothless Civilian Complaint Review Board. His "quality of life" campaign routinely flouts state law by jailing people for up to three days before they even get to see a judge--for the most trivial of offenses. The ends justify the means.

Giuliani's two previous mayoral campaigns have been the most racially polarized elections in modern New York history: He carried over 80 percent of the vote in all but the most liberal (gay/secular Jewish) white neighborhoods, while drawing less than 15 percent in black areas. As other right-wingers since Richard Nixon and George Wallace have, Giuliani defines crime almost exclusively as poor blacks and Latinos preying on employed whites-ignoring the fact that ghetto residents are the people most likely to be street-crime victims. The public services he has cut while focusing on crime are the ones used by fewer and fewer whites. He has built a political coalition of those who do not ride subways, use public hospitals, send their children to public schools--or ever worry that it is their teenage children who will be unjustly jacked up by police. It is a coalition of those who think that the main function of city government is *to* protect them from those darker and poorer.

Will the white citizens of Glendale, Douglaston and the Upper East Side accept police shoving a toilet plunger up a Haitian's ass as the price of not having to fend off squeegee men at the entrance to the Midtown Tunnel? The polls are not encouraging. Most likely, the Louima assault will be dealt with as an "aberration" like the Aaron case, leaving the system of brutality that spawned it untouched until the victims rise up.

Pirate Comics
©1997 by ANGELA BOCAGE
OH--IT'S YOU. WELL, I'VE GOT JUST ONE QUESTION FOR ANY of YOU LOWER EAST SIDE ANARCHY TYPES WHO DON'T THINK THIS LOUIMA THING WAS AN ABERRATION
SWOT!
...EVER SEEN IT BEFORE THAT WE GOT CAUGHT?!
...THOUGHT NOT!
...and even the mayor the cops called "wash room attendant" don't mention GRADY ALEXIS.
ALAY-HA-SHOLEM
SWOT!
ANGELA BOCAGE

SHADOW STAFF:

EDITORS: Chris Flash, A. Kronstadt
REPORTERS: Angela Bocage, Dan Boyle, Lamont Cranston, Scott Cunningham, Jack Dawkins, Paul DeRienzo, Bob Feldman, Sarah Ferguson, Chris Flash, Paul Garrin, Robert Knight, Carl Kolchak, A. Kronstadt, Peter LeVasseur, Jessica Loos, Bob McGlynn, Karen Norden, Akinshiju C. Ola, Gabby Sloan, Peter Spagnuolo, Sara Valentine, John Veit, Bill Weinberg, Steven Wishnia
PHOTOS: Jack Dawkins, Chris Flash, André Grossman, Lannes Kenfield, A. Kronstadt, John Penley, Q. Sakamaki, Jim Simopolous, Spence
ART: Angela Bocage, Scott Cunningham, Mike Diana, Eric Drooker, Flip, Fly, Tuli Kupferberg, Mac McGill, Mike Schafer, Seth Tobocman, L. Van Abbema
INTERNET: MediaFilter.org
ATTORNEYS AT LARGE: Stanley L. Cohen, Ronald Kuby, William Kunstler

COPY AND SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
FIRST CLASS--$2.00/COPY, $15 FOR 10 ISSUES
BULK RATE--$1.00/COPY, $10 FOR 10 ISSUES
FOREIGN--$2.00/COPY
*PLEASE SPECIFY METHOD OF DELIVERY WHEN ORDERING COPIES OR SUBSCRIPTIONS.
(FIRST CLASS + AIR MAIL IS MUCH FASTER)

BACK ISSUES AND BULK ORDERS: A LIST OF BACK ISSUES CAN BE HAD FOR A SELF-ADDRESSED STAMPED ENVELOPE OR TWO STAMPS. THE SHADOW AND ALL PUBLICATIONS BY SHADOW PRESS ARE AVAILABLE IN BULK FOR WHOLESALERS AND RETAILERS. PLEASE INQUIRE FOR SPECIAL PRICES AND TERMS.

PRISONER SUBSCRIPTIONS: THE SHADOW IS FREE FOR ALL PRISONERS UPON REQUEST. YOU MUST GIVE US YOUR RELEASE DATE AND CONTACT US AT LEAST EVERY 2 MONTHS SO THAT WE KNOW YOU ARE GETTING YOUR SHADOWS. IF YOU DON'T, WE MAY REMOVE YOUR NAME FROM OUR MAILING LIST. PLEASE TELL US IF YOU ARE TRANSFERRED SO WE CAN FORWARD YOUR SHADOWS--WE WILL NEED YOUR OLD ADDRESS AS WELL AS YOUR NEW ONE. WHEN YOU GET RELEASED, WE CANNOT CONTINUE YOUR FREE SUBSCRIPTION. PLEASE PASS YOUR SHADOWS ON TO FELLOW PRISONERS.

TRADES: EVERYTHING APPEARING IN THE SHADOW MAY BE USED-FOR ANY INFORMATIVE PURPOSE. WE REQUEST CREDIT FOR ANYTHING REPRINTED FROM THE SHADOW. WE GLADLY TRADE ISSUES AND SUBS WITH OTHER PUBLICATIONS. PLEASE TURN US ON!!

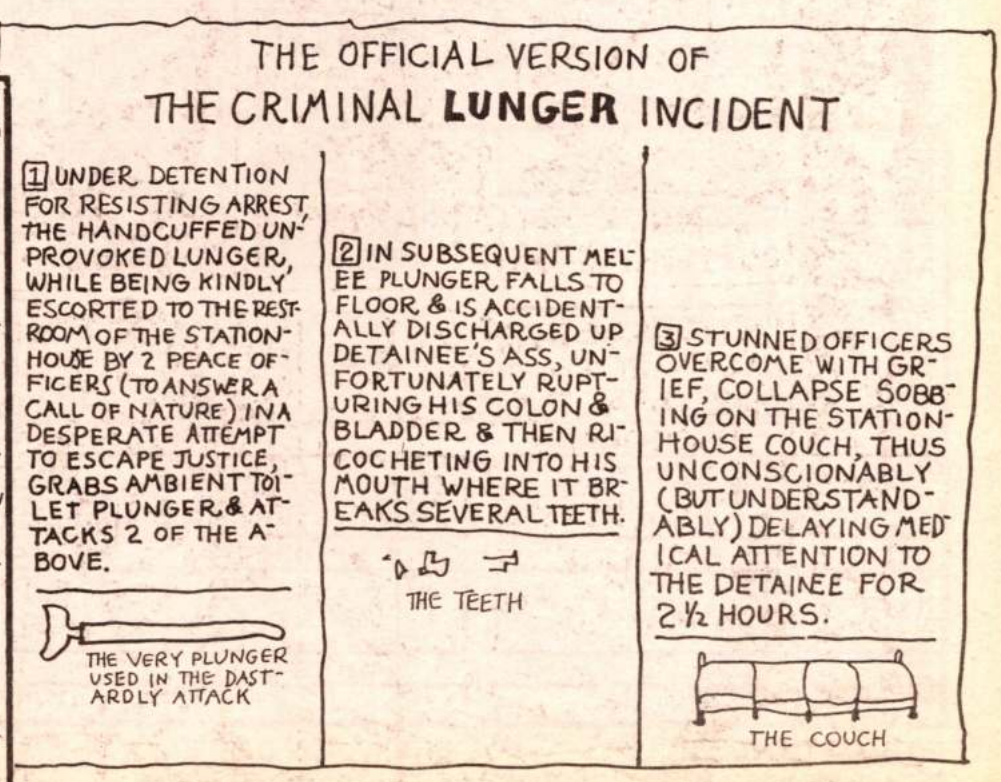
SHADOW ADVERTISING RATES:
SUBVERTISEMENTS--10 CENTS PER WORD ($1.00 MINIMUM)
BUSINESS CARD SIZE--$15.00
LARGER ADS--(YOUR ARTWORK + LAYOUT OR OURS):
1/8 PAGE (2½"w x7½"h or 5"w x3.75"h)--$30.00
1/4 PAGE (2½"w x15"h or 5"w x7½"h or 10"w x3.75"h)--$50.00
1/2 PAGE (5"w x15"h or 10"w x7½"h)--$100.00
BACK PAGE (7½"w x10"h or 10"w x7½"h)--$125.00
DISCOUNTS AVAILABLE FOR LONG TERM ADS--PLEASE INQUIRE FOR MORE DETAILS.

FREE AD SPACE IS AVAILABLE FOR CERTAIN NON-PROFIT GROUPS, BUT PLEASE DO NOT EXPECT US TO RUN YOUR AD WITHOUT PAYMENT UNLESS WE HAVE AGREED TO FIRST. DISCOUNT AD RATES ARE AVAILABLE FOR CERTAIN PROFIT-MAKING GROUPS. PLEASE INQUIRE.

PAYMENTS: WE PREFER CASH, BUT CAN ACCEPT CHECKS OR MONEY ORDERS MADE PAYABLE TO "SHADOW PRESS." ANY AND ALL DONATIONS ARE VERY MUCH NEEDED AND WILL BE GREATLY APPRECIATED!!

PLEASE SEND ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO:
SHADOW PRESS, P.O.BOX 20298, NEW YORK, NY 10009.
OUR E-MAIL ADDRESS IS: Shadow@MediaFilter.org
OUR WORLD WIDE WEB SITE ADDRESS IS:
http://MediaFilter.org/Shadow AND/OR:
http://Shadow.Press FOR "NAME.SPACE" USERS
OUR 24 HOUR PHONE NUMBER IS: (212) 631-1181

INFORMATION IS STRENGTH
KNOWLEDGE IS POWER!!


THE OFFICIAL VERSION OF
THE CRIMINAL LUNGER INCIDENT
1 UNDER DETENTION FOR RESISTING ARREST THE HANDCUFFED UNPROVOKED LUNGER, WHILE BEING KINDLY ESCORTED TO THE RESTROOM OF THE STATIONHOUSE BY 2 PEACE OFFICERS (TO ANSWER A CALL OF NATURE) IN A DESPERATE ATTEMPT TO ESCAPE JUSTICE, GRABS AMBIENT TOILET PLUNGER & ATTACKS 2 OF THE ABOVE.
THE VERY PLUNGER USED IN THE DASTARDLY ATTACK
2 IN SUBSEQUENT MELEE PLUNGER FALLS TO FLOOR & IS ACCIDENTALLY DISCHARGED UP DETAINEE'S ASS, UNFORTUNATELY RUPTURING HIS COLON & BLADDER & THEN RICOCHETING INTO HIS MOUTH WHERE IT BREAKS SEVERAL TEETH.
THE TEETH
3 STUNNED OFFICERS OVERCOME WITH GRIEF, COLLAPSE SOBBING ON THE STATIONHOUSE COUCH, THUS UNCONSCIONABLY (BUT UNDERSTANDABLY) DELAYING MEDICAL ATTENTION TO THE DETAINEE FOR 2½ HOURS.
THE COUCH
D. YANG

PLUNGER PIGS PORK POPULACE

By A. Kronstadt

The torture of Abner Louima at the 70th Precinct in Brooklyn was just one extreme of a bell curve of injury and humiliation visited upon the people in the interest of Giuliani and his quality of life campaign. The mayor's crackdown on everything, once believed by all responsible New Yorkers to be the key cause of New York's exponentially declining crime rate, has now shown a much uglier face.

The *SHADOW* has long had an interest in cases of police brutality. Since the Tompkins Square police riot of 1988, in which hundreds of Lower East Side residents were beaten by runaway police who covered their badges, we have accumulated bulging files full of information about acts of misconduct on and off the job by the police. All of which proves statistically that the documented crime rate among members of the NYPD is at least as great as that among the populace as a whole. We have covered in depth the tearful case of Anthony Baez, a law-abiding man whose ordinary peaceful life ran afoul of, and came to a young end, because of Giuliani's new style of policing. However, we never in our most wild anti-authoritarian rantings ever foreshadowed that NYC cops would do anything as depraved as what they did to Abner Louima.

Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Giuliani has, through sheer invasive deployment of cops, cut back on the rights of New Yorkers to an unheard of extent. He has terrorized panhandlers from the subway and (most) peddlers from the streets of the Lower East Side. New Yorkers talk in hushed voices about marijuana these days. On May 5, armies of cops converged on the now-outlawed Washington Square Smoke-In and made mass arrests. In Ozone Park, a conservative Italian neighborhood in Queens noted in past for its fourth of july fireworks, cops on horseback circulated through the streets and helicopters hovered overhead to squelch the festivities. Phalanxes of cops worked the St. Patrick's and Puerto Rican Day Parades, confiscating beer and making busts. At one time, cops would rather allow demonstrators to take over a street than use violence--now they would rather use pepper spray. Giuliani has taken advantage of the 38,000-strong police force that was created under his predecessor David Dinkins and has used it to construct his own wet dream of governmental control.

And Rudy has given the pigs power hardons as stiff as plunger handles. Rudy gave them those dark blue, almost black uniforms that have powerful sexual undertones well known among leather men and nazi regalia freaks. In Greg Donaldson's book *The Ville*, about cops and kids in Brownsville, a pre-Giuliani cop is quoted as saying, "the LAPD gets more respect than we do... Look at their uniforms. They wear black for the fear factor. We wear powder-blue shirts lake a fuckin' buncha pussies." Giuliani has given the cops a sense of being public masters instead of public servants. Nobody dares talk back to a New York cop these days. You see them walking around the Lower East Side in big packs, three, four and five of them surrounding two guys sharing a beer. If one of them busts a guy urinating on a wall, he radios for reinforcements.

Edward Keating/The New York Times

Justin Volpe — Charles Schwarz — Thomas Wiese — Thomas Bruder

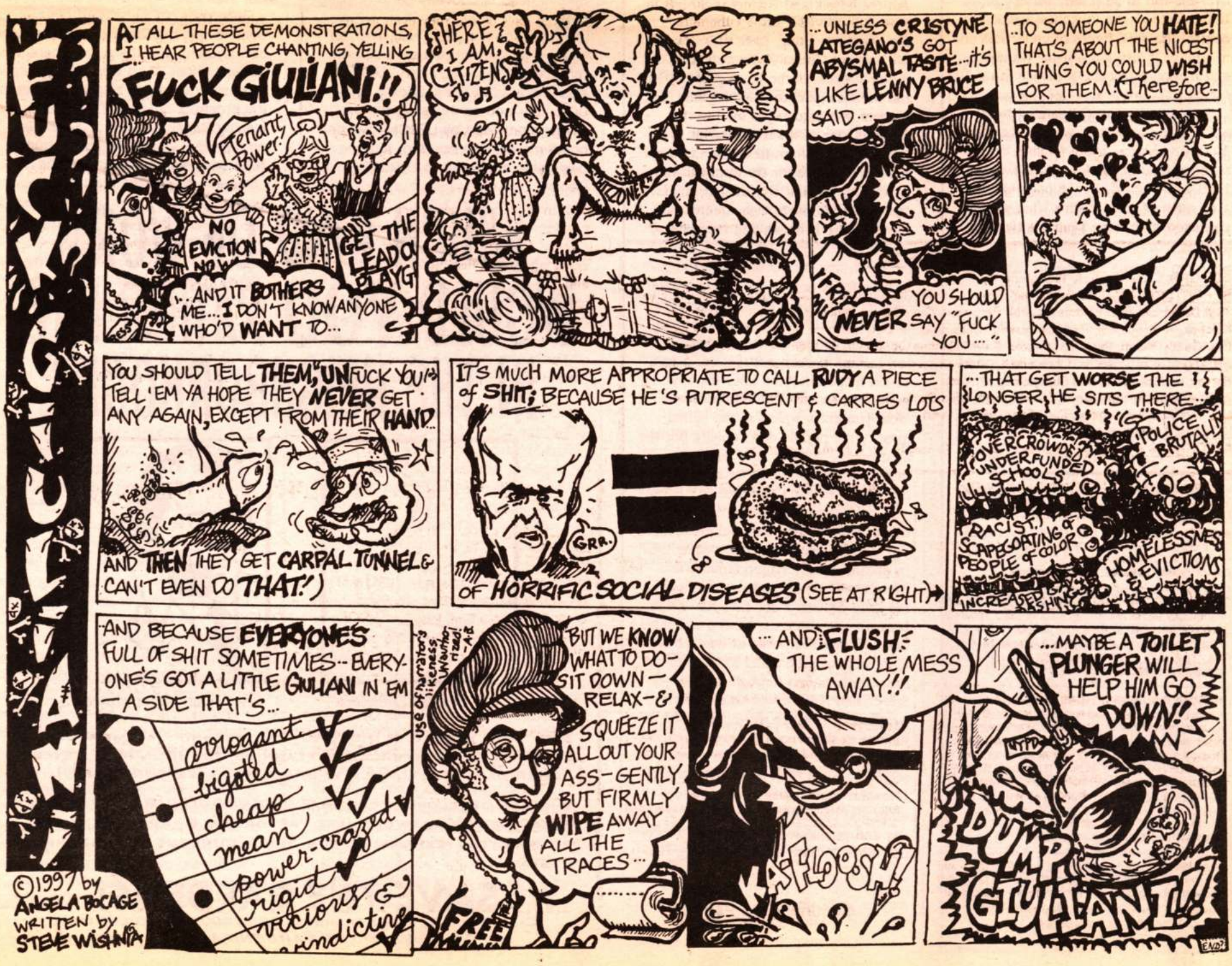
You need a certain kind of person to go around fucking with the populace like this. You need a person who is a bit of a Black Shirt. Lest this be misinterpreted as a slur on Italians, remember that the job of the Black Shirts was to terrorize and brutalize Italians who refused to accept fascism. The Black Shirts would capture people, haul them down to the police station, force them to drink castor oil, then throw them into the street incontinent. Another thing the Black Shirts did was to insert pool cues into the anuses of men whom they suspected of being homosexuals. To achieve total control, the authority figure must totally take away the dignity and humanity of its enemies. They must heap insult upon injury.

What New York needs above all other things is a vision of a harmonious society that goes beyond police control. When all you have is a hammer, everything starts to look like a nail. The idea that education and opportunity, not jails, is the most effective way to fight crime has become a joke for New York City officials. Lacking, or fearing any vision of a better world, the bankers and brokers who control the city have granted a blank check to dumb, brutish police.

Barring a massive reordering of priority from jails to schools and employment opportunities, *SHADOW* Kop-Watchers would like to see the following measures adopted by the city for the public's protection:

1. Review all cops' complaint records. Disarm the ones with the top 20% of complaints and give them desk jobs.
2. Get rid of the quality of life campaign. Stop arresting peddlers, pot smokers, beer drinkers, and panhandlers. No more cops picking on the people.
3. Make them leave their guns at the precinct when their shift ends.
4. Revamp the psychological tests to weed out the psychos and let in more critical thinkers.
5. Get rid of the Irish/Italian dynasty of Long and Staten Island pigs and hire more residents of New York City.

THE SHADOW NEVER SLEEPS!!


FUCK GIULIANI!!
AT ALL THESE DEMONSTRATIONS, I HEAR PEOPLE CHANTING, YELLING
FUCK GIULIANI!!
Tenant Power!
NO EVICTION
GET THE LEAD
...AND IT BOTHERS ME... I DON'T KNOW ANYONE WHO'D WANT TO...
THERE I AM, CITIZENS ♫♪
...UNLESS CRISTYNE LATEGANO'S GOT ABYSMAL TASTE...it's LIKE LENNY BRUCE SAID...
YOU SHOULD NEVER SAY "FUCK YOU..."
..TO SOMEONE YOU HATE! THAT'S ABOUT THE NICEST THING YOU COULD WISH FOR THEM. Therefore-
YOU SHOULD TELL THEM, "UN FUCK YOU" TELL 'EM YA HOPE THEY NEVER GET ANY AGAIN, EXCEPT FROM THEIR HAND...
AND THEN THEY GET CARPAL TUNNEL & CAN'T EVEN DO THAT!)
IT'S MUCH MORE APPROPRIATE TO CALL RUDY A PIECE of SHIT; BECAUSE HE'S PUTRESCENT & CARRIES LOTS
GRR.
OF HORRIFIC SOCIAL DISEASES (SEE AT RIGHT)
...THAT GET WORSE THE LONGER HE SITS THERE...
OVERCROWDED UNDERFUNDED SCHOOLS
POLICE BRUTALITY
RACIST SCAPEGOATING OF PEOPLE OF COLOR
HOMELESSNESS & EVICTIONS
AND BECAUSE EVERYONE'S FULL OF SHIT SOMETIMES -- EVERYONE'S GOT A LITTLE GIULIANI IN 'EM -- A SIDE THAT'S...
arrogant
bigoted
cheap
mean
power-crazed
rigid
vicious &
vindictive
Use of narrators likeness unauthorized - A.K.
BUT WE KNOW WHAT TO DO- SIT DOWN - RELAX - & SQUEEZE IT ALL OUT YOUR ASS - GENTLY BUT FIRMLY WIPE AWAY ALL THE TRACES...
FREE
...AND FLUSH THE WHOLE MESS AWAY!!
KA-FLOOSH!
...MAYBE A TOILET PLUNGER WILL HELP HIM GO DOWN!
NYPD
DUMP GIULIANI!!
END
©1997 by ANGELA BOCAGE
WRITTEN by STEVE WISHNIA

GARDEN PLOT....

now boasts of the Del Este homes as an example of the "affordable housing" he has brought to his district.

Check out the posters plastered all over the neighborhood: "Own Your Own Home Starting at an Estimated $103,000!" In fact, the Del Este duplex condos are priced between $117,200 and $159,800 (more if buyers opt for brand name appliances, high speed internet hook-ups, and cable access, among other "luxury" amenities.) And those prices are AFTER you take into account the $41,200 in city and state subsidies that are used to offset the construction costs of these units.

While the duplexes are supposedly restricted to first-time homeowners with incomes of up to $70,950, according to city regulations, 10 percent of the units can be sold to buyers above the income limit, as long as they pay full price (without the subsidy)--ranging from $158,400 for a two bedroom unit to $201,000 for a three-bedroom unit. At an August 23 buying seminar, a marketing agent for BFC Partners openly stated that his company "would love to sell all these units to people above the income limit," adding, "The more people we sell to who are above the subsidy requirement, the better it is for us. Come on, this is capitalism." Such comments have led many to question BFC's willingness to abide by the 10 percent rule.

In addition, while the brochures suggest that the condos are "an affordable reality" to those earning as little as $28,000, in order to meet the minimum loan requirement, a family or individual would have to earn at least $43,500 a year. Even then, they would need to be virtually clear of all other debts (i.e. car payment, credit card bill, etc.) so as not to exceed the monthly debt ceiling set by the banks.

That's quite a stretch for a neighborhood where the average annual income hovers around $12,500. Adding up the mortgage and maintaintance charges, the monthly cost of these units ranges from $1,190 to $1,828.

Most shocking of all, Donald Capoccia of BFC Partners announced at a recent buying seminar that here would be NO PREFERENCE FOR FAMILIES who wish to buy these two and three bedroom condos. This means that a single individual earning as much as $70,949 could qualify for the $41,200 subsidy and buy a two or three bedroom duplex at below market costs, then turn around and rent out the extra bedrooms for more money. (While subletting is technically not allowed, who will monitor a private condo association once these units are sold?)

Moreover, after five years, the condos can be sold to anyone over the $70,950 limit, as long as they pay off the mortgage and what's left of the $40,000 subsidy, which gets amortized over a 25 year period. And yet, HPD, Pagán and proponents on Community Board 3 (CB3) have justified these condos as permanent, affordable housing for families in the community.

All of this fine print presents a far different picture from the one initially painted by proponents of the NYC Housing Partnership condos like Pagán-appointed CB3 chair Susan Vaughn when CB3 first released the sites for development in September 1995. Vaughn and other board members claimed that the Partnership project would help alleviate overcrowding in public housing projects by allowing "double-wage-earning families" who might otherwise be forced to move to the suburbs a chance to buy into their own neighborhood. Vaughn and other Pagán-appointed members of CB3 claimed that it was selfish of the gardeners to hold onto land when it could be used to create permanent affordable housing for those who need it.

Obviously, Del Este Village is a sweetheart deal for Capoccia, who is being handed the development rights to more than $2.2 million in property with virtually no money down. Unlike most real estate deals, the city underwrites the loans for NYC Housing Partnership-sponsored development, allowing private developers like Capoccia to reap profit with very little risk.

Of course, Pagán also makes out in the deal. Capoccia's BFC Partners was one of the leading contributors to Pagán's failed bid for Manhattan Borough President, contributing more than $4,200, according to the latest filings available from the Campaign Finance Board. The architect for the Del Este Village project, Leslie Feder, also contributed $500 to Pagán's campaign for Borough President. BFC has also contributed at least $10,000 to Giuliani's mayoral campaign. Over the past year, Pagán has gone out of his way to align himself with Giuliani, fueling speculation that his own lackluster campaign for Borough President, in which he received only 8 percent of the vote, was just a ploy to keep himself in the running for some political post in the likely event of a second Giuliani term. Certainly, deep-pocketed friends like Capoccia help increase Pagán's political capital with the mayor.

The insensitivity of Pagán and his allies toward the community was evident at a recent CB3 Housing Committee meeting, when the NYC Housing Partnership and members of Asian Americans for Equality (AAFE) presented plans to demolish the Rodriguez Garden on Suffolk and Rivington Streets in order to build 53 more Partnership condos. At the meeting, LESCHD's executive director Zulma Zayas defended the planned razing of the Rodriguez, 10 BC, and Mendez gardens, claiming that "one of them [the gardens] is used to run numbers, one of them is a parlor to distribute political literature, and the other is a private place for the family to have Labor Day parties." Zayas said, "they are stealing from the community; they open the fire hydrants and they play loud music." Zayas also took issue with the claim that the condos were too expensive for people in the neighborhood. "We received over 10,000 applications for 13th Street," Zayas said, describing the recent lottery for the supposedly low-income apartments that her organization helped develop after the city gutted the former 13th Street squats. "And you know what's so sad is that most of the people don't qualify [for the apartments] because they have too much money." Too rich for subsidized housing? Gee, isn't that sad!

Considering that she lives around the corner from it, Zayas should know that the 10 BC Garden was founded in 1987 by several mostly Latino families and friends, who united together to kick out the drug dealers. Since then, the neighbors who maintain the garden estimate that they have removed at least 10 full dumpsters of rubble and trash from the lots, which extend through to 11th Street, and have towed away numerous wrecked cars, which were once used by junkies to shoot up. For several years, the garden ran a weekly film series, screening films from around the world. Over the years, there have been weddings and baptisms in the garden, birthday and graduation parties, and numerous other cultural events including Hal-

Continued On Page 6

PAGÁN LOSER....

There now appears to be a mass rebellion going on among Lower East Side voters, who now refuse to behave predictably. In the Baruch Houses [projects on Houston and Avenue D], Puerto Rican voters have snubbed their long-time political boss Roberto Napoleon, who was backing Rapfogel, and have gone massively for Margarita. Furthermore, the entire political alliance revolving around Antonio Pagán in the early nineties--composed of a mixture of Democratic fatcats and party hacks like Silver and Napoleon, landlords and gentrifiers like Christina Piorkowska and Howard Hemsley, and "quality of life" creeps like Elizabeth Acevedo and Nancy Sosman--has melted down. Pagán is now on the outs with most of the people who supported him in 1991.

Interestingly enough, SHADOW sources reveal that Pagán had no real desire to run for Borough President, and that when he tried to keep his City Council seat, his political sugar daddy Sheldon Silver told him it was too late because he had already run Rapfogel for Pagán's seat. After his dismal showing in the September 9 primary, as predicted by the SHADOW, (8% of the vote), Pagán's political career appears to be over.

But Pagán hasn't lost completely. Like most corporate officers who are removed from positions of power, Pagán has created his own "golden parachute" that will ensure his wealth and comfort for life. Barring his acceptance of a rumored offer by Mayor Giuliani for the job of Commissioner of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD), Pagán will once again openly head his poverty-pimp housing group Lower East Side Coalition Housing Development (LESCHD), and the city-owned properties it controls. As reported previously in the SHADOW, after a short term of providing symbolic "low-income" housing, the properties controlled by LESCHD will become market rate housing, with the ownership conveyed to LESCHD/Pagán.

After years of accepting cash from real estate interests and enriching his real estate portfolio during his City Council stint, Pagán now has nothing to lose. In the last few months of his City Council term, it is expected that Pagán will continue to use his position as the chair of the Land Use and Disposition Committee to hand city-owned properties to individuals and groups tied to and/or controlled by Pagán and his political contributors.

In one current example, Pagán has facilitated the transfer of six city-owned lots from the community groups operating them as gardens to LESCHD in a scheme to create shoddily-built market rate city-subsidized condominium housing units that will be built by real estate developer and Pagán contributor Donald Capoccia and managed by LESCHD. (See related story in this issue--Ed.)

Further insuring his future comfort, Pagán, using his influence on the Land Use Committee, has gotten his city-owned apartment building at 7 East 3rd Street placed in the city's Tenant Interum Lease (TIL) program, which enables tenants to buy their apartments for only $250. Pagán, who earns a declared $72,500 as councilman, was years behind on his $75 per month rent before buying his apartment through TIL, which has arranged for a $12 million renovation of the building at taxpayer expense. According to SHADOW sources, after members of the building's tenant association voted themselves expanded and double-sized apartments, a number of residents were made to leave. As a result, Pagán is among those who will get 2-3 times more space for himself and family members. After only ten years or so, Pagán will be able to sell the apartments for a fat profit.

Whatever highly justified distrust we may have in the City Council, the electoral system, and the government in general, those of us who love the Lower East Side cannot help but rejoice at the prospect of Margarita Lopez replacing Pagán and his political allies on the City Council. To use Pagán's 1991 campaign slogan, "It's time for a change" -- to say the least!!

WHICH KIND OF WORM WOULD YOU RATHER HAVE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD?

fig. 1 Common Earthworm

fig. 2 Real-Estate Developer

THE NEW YORK CITY HOUSING PARTNERSHIP (AN ARM OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE) IS PLANNING TO *BULLDOZE* SEVERAL LOWER EAST SIDE COMMUNITY *GARDENS* LATER *THIS MONTH*.

WHY? SO DEVELOPERS CAN *BUILD CONDOMINIUMS* ON THE SITES. EVEN THE CHEAPEST OF THESE "AFFORDABLE" APARTMENTS WILL BE FAR TOO EXPENSIVE FOR MOST CURRENT NEIGHBORHOOD RESIDENTS.

SAVE THE GARDENS!

CALL THE NYC PARTNERSHIP AT 493-7400 AND TELL THEM TO *LEAVE THE GARDENS ALONE.*

LOISAIDA MARCH FOR SURVIVAL

By A. Kronstadt

The demonstration of more than 250 Lower East Siders on August 2 was as peaceful as its demands were numerous. Under heavy police escort, the crowd marched to nine sites to protest the impending or already accomplished demolition of community resources by the city and real estate developers.

Marchers met at the 10th Street Garden, featuring vegetables and flowers and a Puerto Rican style casita, complete with a rooster whose profile appeared on several of the placards in the procession. This garden, along with the Chico Mendez mural garden on 11th Street, is slated for demolition in late September, to be replaced by a condominium project where apartments will sell for at least $103,000. A speech by Democratic City Council hopeful Margarita Lopez insisted that marchers stay on the sidewalk and not react to police provocations. Lopez, who was involved in the planning of the march, is in the running against Judy Rapfogel, a protegé of State Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver, who is attracting the bulk of real estate money in the race. Lopez was the only one of three City Council candidates who has spoken against the demolition of community gardens.

The group proceeded to Charas/El Bohio, a venerable community center in an old public school on 9th Street and Avenue B for over 20 years, hosting countless theater productions, art exhibits, and community meetings. Charas supporters have temporarily stalled a city plan to auction off the building. Armando Perez, a local democratic party leader and long-time Charas organizer, told the crowd, "They want to take away Charas and the gardens so that we'll have no place to go when we're under attack."

Margarita Lopez was a key speaker at the next stop in the march, the Riis-Wald Projects on Avenue D. She led the crowd in a chant of "Vivienda decente para la gente" and told of the recent success of public housing tenants in stalling a plan to remove rent ceilings from apartments in the projects. Lopez also spoke about the warehousing of apartments in the projects, where there is a waiting list of 200,000 people. Meanwhile, apartments are kept empty by a city administration speculating on plans to rent them at market rate.

The next rally was at an empty lot on 5th Street near Avenue B where the 5th Street Squat once stood. Although it housed residents for more than ten years, the squat was evicted and demolished last February after a minor fire. Residents were not allowed to retrieve their possessions and several of their animals were left trapped in the building as a crane tore the structure apart, cracking the wall of a neighboring tenement in the process.

The march went on to a renovated building on 3rd Street, between First and Second Avenues, where Donald Cappocia, the developer slated to build on the sites of the 10th and 11th Street gardens, occupies a luxury apartment. After chanting "Cappocia, Cappocia, come out of your hole, Cappocia, Cappocia, give back what you stole," the marchers continued to another vacant lot, at Second Avenue and 1st Street. This was the site of a legally-occupied city-owned building that was evicted in the middle of the night in late July, on the grounds that a heavy rainfall put it in danger of "imminent collapse." The building was a single-room-occupancy dwelling that housed 34 low-income tenants paying $200 to $300 per month. The city spent $300,000 on tacky renovations in the building, but ignored a major water leak, which eventually gave them the excuse to tear it down rather than make additional repairs. As with the 5th Street Squat, residents' belongings were destroyed and some of their pets were left inside as it was hastily demolished.

Next, the marchers went to 66 East 4th Street, the former headquarters of the Felix Milan Little League, a clubhouse for 400 neighborhood youth that had been summarily evicted from its city-owned building on one of the last heavily Puerto Rican blocks in the chic "East Village."

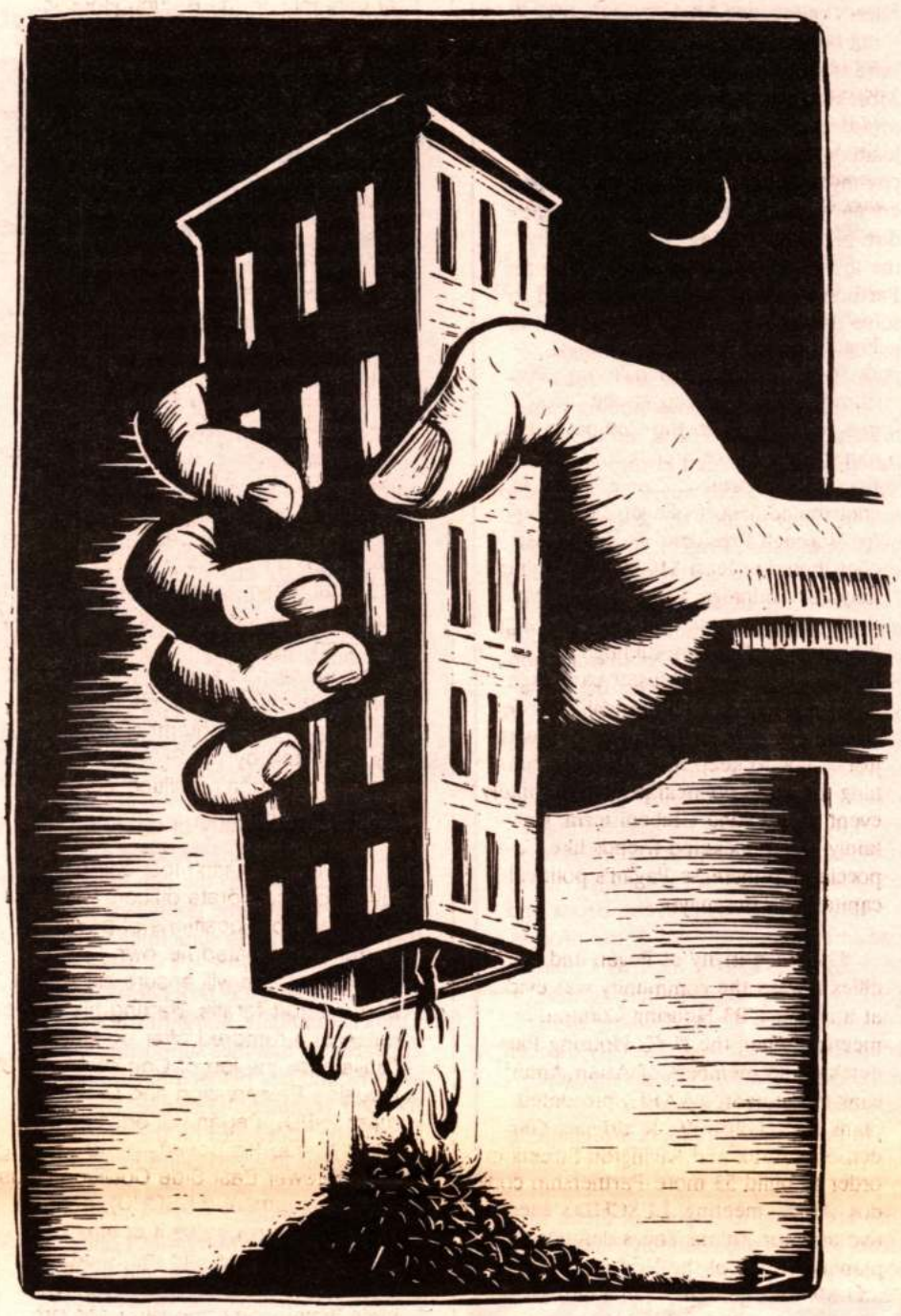
The last stop was the All-Craft Center on St. Mark's place, a community space on the former site of the Electric Circus night club which now provides space for Alcoholics Anonymous and Narcotics Anonymous meetings. The center has often faced eviction and take-over attempts by gentrifiers and real estate speculators.

The Unity March combined issues that include the imminent destruction of community gardens, midnight evictions under the pretext of "emergencies," privatization of public housing projects, eviction of squatters, threats against community centers, and on the positive side, a demand for new low-income housing. The crowd was an interesting mix of young and older people who shared in common a love of the Lower East Side and a desire to preserve its humanity. The "Loisaida Unity March" showed that residents of the Lower East Side are prepared to fight for their neighborhood.

THE SHADOW KNOWS!!

CLINTON STREET TENANTS FIGHT SLEAZEBAG LANDLORD

By Steven Wishnia



ERIC DROOKER

The nine-month saga of landlords vs. tenants continues at 16 Clinton Street.

Last December, tenants in the building's eight railroad flats were shocked when landlords Laura and Sam Lai sent them a letter warning them that the back wall was about to collapse and urging them to "vacate the building immediately." City Buildings Department inspectors, under the eyes of Channel 4 news cameras, said that wasn't necessary. Instead of vacating the building, they fined Shun Lin, the Lais' real estate company, $2,000 for failing to repair the outside walls.

Tenants have been in court with the landlords ever since, trying to force them to make structural repairs. On April 14, they filed a contempt motion against the owners for failing to complete the work by the court-ordered deadline. On May 1, the landlords knocked down the bathroom walls of three apartments. When tenants asked when the walls would be fixed, Sam Lai told them "Not for a very long time." They were eventually repaired after a Housing Court judge ordered them fixed two weeks later.

Following a third court order on July 15, workers began replacing windows and reinforcing the top two floors with steel beams. On Aug. 22, they walled off the bathrooms and kitchens. This was supposed to be a six-day job, according to the court stipulation, but on Aug. 30, tenants were told it would take another three weeks. The four households affected have to use bathrooms on the first floor.

"Every agreement we've ever made in court has been violated. They've been really underhanded all the way through," says Salley May, a performer in the city's art-therapy program who lives on the top floor.

"It's a mystery who the head of this job is," she adds. Tamco, the contractor doing the repairs, lists its address at a nonexistent building in Chinatown, according to May. Harry Hong, the man apparently in charge of the work, told her he's actually the city official responsible for signing off on it. And Buildings Department reports on the job have been mysteriously unavailable.

Tenants accuse the Lais, who bought the building in 1994 at a federal auction--it had been seized in a 1989 drug-forfeiture proceeding--of trying to harass them all out, or failing that, to jack up the rent with major-capital-improvement (MCI) increases. (MCI increases permanently raise the monthly rent by 1/84th of the total cost of the repair; for example, an $8,400 job would add $100 to the rent.) The kitchen and bathroom renovations were not authorized in the court order, says May.

"We can't stop the tenants from complaining," a Shun Lin spokesperson says. "Work is being carried out."

The eight tenants--artists, Asian immigrants, and a 92-year-old Jewish man--all pay less than $500 a month. In August, a family of immigrants from Bangladesh received a notice threatening eviction if they didn't pay $2,500 in back rent within 72 hours--rent they'd already paid, tenants say. "They're picking on people who are more vulnerable," says May.

Another party has been Asian Americans For Equality (AAFE), a non-profit housing group that hired the engineer who claimed the building was about to collapse last December; AAFE sent representatives to warn tenants that they might have to leave immediately. Tenants say that AAFE was in collaboration with the landlord in trying to intimidate them out.

At the time, AAFE spokesperson Willing Chin told the SHADOW that she wasn't familiar with 16 Clinton Street. Another AAFE representative told the *New York Times* that the tenants were being manipulated by "agitators" from ABC No Rio, a non-profit gallery and performance space on nearby Rivington Street, which was then fighting an AAFE plan to evict them. Last May, the group issued a statement that said they had only "offered our services in the event an evacuation was warranted" and hoped that "landlords and tenants can work toward [a] common goal."

Meanwhile, says a flyer handed out by tenants, "all of this is incredibly costly in time, stress, sanity, and legal fees."

(This story is far from over--stay tuned to the SHADOW for more developments-Ed.)

ADVERTISE IN THE SHADOW

GARDEN PLOT....

loween and Easter Parties for kids.

Named after the Brazilian rain forest martyr Chico Mendez, the Mendez Mural Garden was created six years ago by a diverse group of local residents--including sculptor Ken Hiratsuka, who helped lay out the garden's fanciful design, *Cover Magazine* publisher Jeff Wright, and Nelson Rodriguez, a youth counselor who is like a big brother to the numerous children from the block who come to play in the garden.

Other Lower East Side gardens threatened by Partnership condos include Green Oasis and Gilbert's Sculpture Garden on 8th Street, between C and D, the 9th Street and Avenue C garden, and the Casita Garden on 9th Street, between C and D. All of these gardens were approved for Partnership condos by CB3 in September 1995, and have been in limbo ever since.

The clearing and cultivation of the city-owned lots by gardeners has been a stabilizing force in the community, contributing to the betterment of their neighborhoods at no cost to the city. Ironically, with the real estate market on the upswing, these gardens have made the Lower East Side more attractive to yuppies and developers who now want those sites for new market rate and luxury housing.

Aside from the 6th Street and Avenue B Garden and El Jardin del Paradiso, both of which have been awarded park status by the city, no community garden on the Lower East Side is safe. All told, the city and CB3 plan to develop 22 so-called "vacant" sites on the Lower East Side for either Partnership "middle class" condos or flat-out market rate housing--a process which could radically alter the economic balance and social makeup of the neighborhood while robbing the community of vital green space.

This rush to demolition is part of a stepped-up citywide effort by Mayor Giuliani's Administration to sell off all "vacant" city-owned properties. Already, the Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD) has placed over half of the 776 community gardens throughout the city "on hold" because of pending development plans. Most of these gardens will likely be awarded to the Partnership, which is the leading developer of new housing on city-owned land. In the process, gardeners are being falsely pitted against the dire need for housing, when in reality the low-density style of housing that the Partnership develops is not intended to solve the housing crisis as much as it is to "de-densify" poor neighborhoods. (See story in SHADOW #41--Ed.)

In Harlem, five long-standing community gardens on 122nd Street are also slated to be bulldozed at the end of September to make way for Partnership homes. They include the 20-year-old Garden of Love, Project Harmony, the Five-Star Garden, and the Golden Lions Garden--some of the most magnificent and well-used community gardens in the city. When asked at a City Council public hearing why the plans for the Partnership "town-houses"--which feature 30-foot private back yards--could not be altered to allow for at least some community space, HPD deputy commissioner Mary Bolton told the gardeners assembled that "community space is inconsistent with home ownership."

Two other gardens in the Bronx and one in Brooklyn are also in the process of being approved by the City Council for Partnership housing, despite the vigilance of the gardeners, who have been forcing their way into City Council committee meetings to challenge the sale of these green spaces.

In particular, gardeners are challenging the failure of the Council to identify the lots they are selling as gardens when they are voting to dispose of them. Instead, gardens are routinely classified as vacant "blighted" rubble strewn lots, allowing the city to dispose of the sites even more quickly, without having to go through a more openly-publicized public review process and without having to perform environmental impact studies. (When the Partnership plan went before CB3 last September, neither gardeners nor adjacent property owners were notified, and after their voting, many CB3 members admitted that they were unaware they were voting to eliminate the gardens.)

The City Council's action on the garden issue, including that of many of its progressive members, has been negative. The entire City Council membership, including Liberal councilmembers Tom Duane, Sal Albanese and Virginia Fields, voted for Resolution 2350 on May 14, turning the 10 BC, 11 BC and Mendez Mural gardens over for development. Duane also voted for the Resolution when it passed the Land Use Committee, of which he is a member.

At City Council subcommittee meetings on "Private Use of Public Spaces" held on July 29 and August 21 for public hearings, despite the fact that the vote against the gardens was already a done deal, Duane and Albanese claimed to be unaware that the sites are actively tended gardens when they voted to pass Resolution 2350 in May.

Many gardening activists are confused by the treachery of their favorite politicians, yet strangely, some are pathetically clinging to the dim hope that somehow these same politicians who betrayed them will do something to help them.

Lower East Side Democratic City Council candidate Margarita Lopez has appeared at marches supporting the gardens and has pledged her support for their continued existence. Unlike her soon-to-be colleagues on the Council, Lopez is not likely to claim to be in the dark when votes concerning her neighborhood are made.

Unfortunately, Margarita Lopez may not take her City Council seat in time to prevent the transfer and destruction of the garden sites for Pagán and Capoccia's Del Este Village project. If this proves to be true, at least with Lopez in place, the precious few remaining garden sites and community resources have a better chance to be saved.

In the meantime, some activists have been pursuing a lawsuit that stays the demolition of the gardens while others have been engaging in a street level approach. On August 23, neighborhood activists and gardeners picketed a sales seminar held by Del Este Village on East 8th Street, giving prospective buyers copies of a May 13 *Village Voice* article that described the shoddy and cheaply built housing by the NYC Housing Partnership in the Bronx. According to the article, which described leaking roofs, sinking and cracking floors, eroding foundations and improperly-installed boilers, "Many [homeowners] want out, but can't leave: the threat of a hefty fine forces these working- and middle-class families to stay in their government-ubsidized homes for 15 years."

On September 11, demonstrators organized by the Citywide Committee to Preserve Community Land Use Rights disrupted a City Council meeting. On September 18 they took over the offices of the NYC Partnership at 1 Battery Park Plaza, where they issued a statement demanding that the Partnership "immediately cease implementing programs that displace existing projects without extensive and meaningful review..." A member of the coalition told the SHADOW, "We want to expand beyond the gardens. It's a land use issue. The reality is that they're building unaffordable housing under the guise of destroying community gardens for housing."

More actions around this issue are upcoming. As predicted previously in the SHADOW, low-income tenants and community gardeners are now finding themselves victimized by the same repression experienced by squatters for years: illegal evictions, demolitions and police actions. In their defense, gardeners can apply the same tactics employed by the squatter community: building a network of neighborhood support and defense, setting up a phone tree wherein a list of people can be called for a quick response to any assaults on the gardens, preparations for meeting the bulldozers, and unpredictable actions against those responsible for destroying the gardens.

It is assumed that the city will try to demolish the remaining gardens and lots as the weather gets colder, since they expect that less people are likely to confront and fight them. No matter what the enemy expects, it looks like it's going to be a Redwood Summer this winter!!

For information about defending the gardens and future actions, contact these groups:

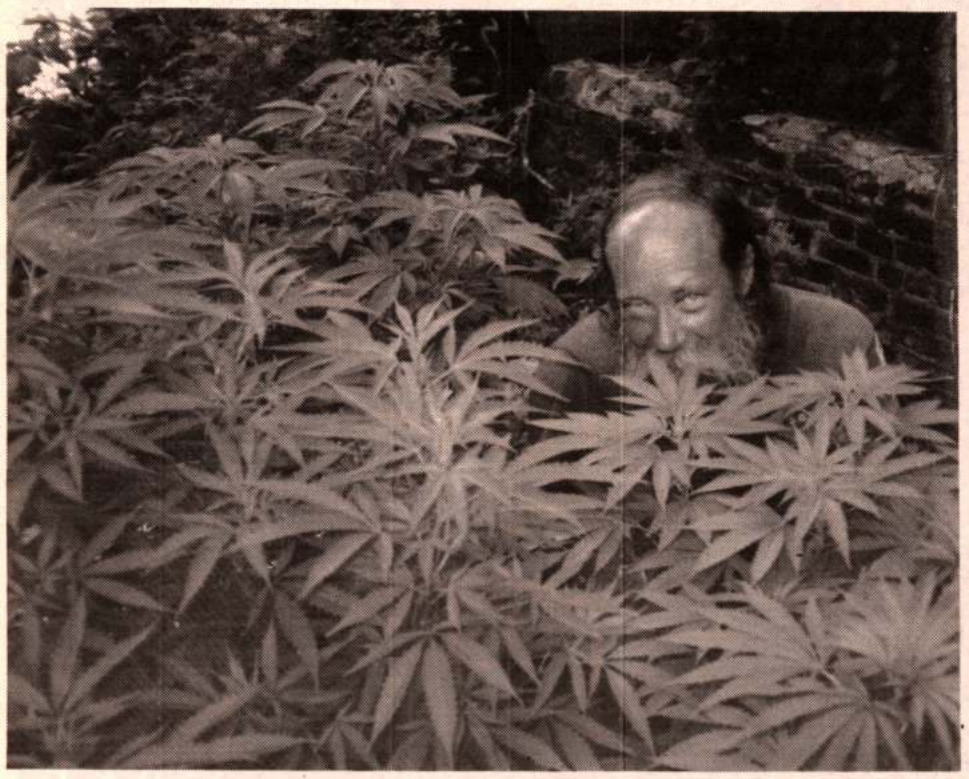
- **The New York City Coalition for the Preservation of Gardens at 777-7969**
- **The Lower East Side Collective at 802-8081**
- **The Citywide Committee to Preserve Community Land Use Rights at their Community Unity meetings every Tuesday at 7:00pm at Charas at 610 East 9th Street (at Avenue B).**

Also, you might want to contact those involved in and responsible for the destruction of gardens and open spaces in order to express your feelings:

- **Richard Roberts, Commissioner of Housing, Preservation and Development (directly responsible for handing gardens to developers): 863-6100**
- **Virginia Fields, City Councilmember on Land Use Committee, (voted to give gardens to developers; now candidate for Manhattan Borough President): 788-6972**
- **Veronica White, President of New York City Partnership, (the business organization behind the plan to bulldoze the gardens): 493-7400**
- **Del Este Village (the condo project to be built on Lower East Side garden sites): 214 Avenue A, 673-8445**
- **Lower East Side Coalition Housing Development (LESCHD) (the poverty pimp housing group controlled by outgoing Councilman Pagán; responsible for taking the 13th Street Squats; now trying to take over community gardens): 67 Avenue D, 387-0961 and 308 East 8th Street, 254-1916, 260-6233, 677-3015, 677-4772**
- **BFC Associates (construction company headed by Pagán contributor Donald Capoccia; slated to build condos on garden sites; also destroyed 13th Street Squats in gut renovation project): 2226 First Avenue, 722-3671**
- **Donald Capoccia (Pagán's real estate partner and campaign contributor; heads BFC Associates): 74 East 3rd Street (#1B), 420-0453**
- **Antonio Pagán (City Councilmember on Land Use Committee who not only voted to hand gardens to his developer pal Capoccia, but whose housing group LESCHD will manage the sites): 7 East 3rd Street (#10), 473-6995**
- **Zulma Zayas (acting head of LESCHD while Pagán pulls in the big deals and big bucks through his position on the City Council): 170 Avenue C (#13F), 982-5877**

POT HARVEST IN TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK

By Paul DeRienzo



CHRIS FLASH

JERRY THE PEDDLER IN A FIELD OF MARIJUANA PLANTS TO BE HARVESTED FOR THE HALLOWEEN SMOKE-IN

Jerry the Peddler sits in his Lower East Side backyard and with an infectious grin he surveys his surroundings. Dozens of bushy and healthy looking marijuana plants of the *Cannabis sativa* variety shade a small group of aficionados as Jerry expertly splits a Philly and proceeds to role a trademark New York style blunt bought at one of the neighborhoods many quick stop pot shops. Just a few weeks earlier, on July 7, New York's Mayor Rudy Giuliani, a self appointed chief prosecutor of so-called quality of life offenses like pot smoking, was embarrassed by screaming tabloid headlines announcing that marijuana had been found growing in Tompkins Square Park. Eighteen pot plants were found, some near a children's playground and others next to the park police office. Jerry says he didn't sow the seeds of the controversy, but says the long time pot activist with a mischievous twinkle in his eyes, "I know who did."

A few pot plants in a park known for its iconoclast residents, where some young people are regularly seen shooting dope, in a city where tens of thousands, if not millions smoke herb may seem a minor problem. But if this is no ordinary park, neither is this an ordinary mayor. Rudy Giuliani is a former federal prosecutor who was the number three man in the Justice Department under Ronald Reagan when the War On Drugs was launched in earnest in the 1980s. Giuliani is also running for re-election in a race that may not seriously threaten to unseat him, but which has opened the possibility for embarrassment, since getting marijuana out of the parks is one of the short-fused mayor's big issues. In May, the annual Smoke-In marijuana rally was banned from Washington Square Park, resulting in more than 60 arrests; the previous year there were 250 arrests.

Jerry the Peddler is no stranger to controversy. He's been a key figure in New York's annual pot rallies for more than 20 years. In contrast to the more staid affairs organized across town by Dana Beal, Jerry and friends have also been organizing "pig roasts" in Tompkins Square Park, where full-sized roasted porkers with head intact (complete with a police helmet) are fed to the community. At the last event, hundreds of joints were distributed as local bands wailed.

But the discovery of the pot plants was the last straw for an angry Park's Department Commissioner Henry Stern. He says any plants found in City parks will be "deracinated," a fancy term for being pulled up by the roots. But the controversy was really fueled by the Commissioner's initial denial, along with police brass, that the plants were marijuana at all. Stern at first told incredulous reporters the plants were "ragweed." That statement prompted local papers to enlist a professional horticulturist who said that the plants were indeed "*Cannabis sativa*," much to the amusement of Jerry and his friends, who say the plants were in fact a different but related variety called "*Cannabis indica*."

Jerry and his friends say that pot was cultivated in the park, "to embarrass the Mayor and Parks Department." But there may be another reason. The plants were grown under the eye of Park's Department caretakers, who could not have missed the distinctive and bushy 3-5 foot high stalks. Adding to the mystery was a Parks Department executive who was called to the park after the story broke and angrily told a photographer who broke the story, "you just got somebody fired." But a smiling Jerry the Peddler says he "congratulates" the city for finding the pot patch, but he adds cryptically, "you've got a dozen more to go."

(Parks Commissioner Henry Stern is asking "park lovers" to call 1-800-201-PARK if they see pot growing in city parks. SHADOW readers are encouraged to call and demand that more pot be planted in the parks!! And PLANT YOUR SEEDS!!--Ed.)

WILLIAM S. BURROUGHS: 1914-1997

To The end of his life, Mr. Burroughs remained pessimistic about the future for humankind. In "Ghost of a Chance," he lamented the destruction of the rain forests and their creatures and wrote: "All going, to make way for more and more devalued human stock, with less and less of the wild spark, the priceless ingredient -- energy into matter. A vast mudslide of soulless sludge."

ANDEAN DRUG WAR UPDATE:

Dissent Against Washington's Drug War Emerges as Chaos Spreads

By Bill Weinberg

As violence and militarization escalate dizzyingly in the Andes, source of the global cocaine market, some politicians are beginning to question the Washington-mandated War on Drugs in the region.

The eradication of coca leaf--a traditional indigenous crop for millennia--was initiated in Colombia, Peru and Bolivia in the 1980s under heavy pressure from the White House. But the Indian *campesinos* see coca leaf as a part of their cultural heritage, and have no alternative means of supporting their families. The drug lords will pay them enough to survive on for coca leaf, while Free Trade economics has meant depressed prices for "legitimate" crops. The eradication program has pushed Colombia to the brink of civil war.

Meanwhile, prisons bursting way past capacity with drug convicts are exploding into violence from one end of Colombia to the other. April saw strikes or uprisings at Valledupar prison in Cesar Modelo prison in Bucaramanga, Giradot prison in Cundinamarca and El Buen Pastor prison in Barranquilla. Prisons in neighboring Venezuela have also seen much nightmarish violence over the past year.

April also saw the eradication program in Bolivia spark violent unrest.

Peruvian strongman Alberto Fujimori was the first Andean leader to suspend the coca eradication program because he knew it was building support for guerillas. But now, with the guerillas in decline, he has just capitulated and resumed eradication.

More Andean leaders, however, are starting to break with the Drug War consensus. A US-backed Latin American Cities Against Drugs conference in Brazil this spring failed to garner significant participation from the continent's mayors--only 45 showed up, well under what was expected. And Medellin, the Colombian city which had long been the nerve-center of the global cocaine trade, has scheduled a counter-conference to explore harm reduction and decriminalization options.

COLOMBIA: DECRIM OR CIVIL WAR?

Colombia, which has suffered the most under Drug War violence, has made the most significant gains. The first break came in 1994, when Attorney General Gustavo de Greiff--who had vigorously prosecuted the cocaine cartels and received numerous death threats for his efforts--came out in favor of decriminalization. Later that year, Colombia's top court ruled that small quantities of illegal drugs were not criminal offenses. Colombia joined Germany, Italy and Spain in decriminalizing.

Then--President Cesar Gaviria pledged to overturn the decision, and did succeed in re-imposing restrictions on public use by presidential decree--an undemocratic measure used ever more under "emergency rules" imposed to combat drugs and terrorism. However, to recriminalize completely required changing Colombia's constitution, which could only be done by popular referendum. Despite initial bluster, Gaviria failed to get the referendum on the ballot before his term ended--perhaps due to fear that it would be defeated. His successor, Ernesto Samper, has not pursued the crusade. Small quantities remain *de facto* legal in Colombia.

However, Colombia remains the only country in the region where all coca cultivation is completely *illegal*. When the ban was passed in 1988, legislators--under heavy gringo pressure--argued that there was no tradition of coca growing in Colombia before the cartels introduced the crop. But no exception was made for Cauca, the heavily Indian state in Colombia's south, where there is indeed an ancient tradition of growing coca for local medicinal and religious use. An aerial eradication program was launched--mostly targeting the main coca-growing region in the Amazon.

Ironically, the law was passed largely to appease Colombia's top aid provider, the United States--which has since cut off all economic aid and credit, citing Colombia's insufficient Drug War zealotry. Many Colombian politicians charge that their country was "decertified" largely to scapegoat it for the drug trade, while the new cartels have consolidated control over the hemispheric coke trade in NAFTA-partner Mexico, the top trans-shipment country.

In October 1995, President Clinton signed Executive Order 12978, imposing a state of "national emergency" in the US, restricting trade and money transactions between US corporations and banks and Colombian firms and persons believed to be cartel-compromised. Last October, the state of emergency was continued for another year by Clinton's signature, despite the fact that the Cali Cartel, Colombia's last centralized criminal organization, has collapsed. Coca cultivation and cocaine production in Colombia is once again under the control of a decentralized network of local bosses, while the new Cartels are now in Mexican border cities, most notably Tijuana.

When Clinton decertified Colombia for a second year in a row this January, President Samper retaliated by suspending aerial herbicide-spraying of the coca fields--but promptly capitulated after this brief symbolic protest, and resumed the program. The spraying is carried out by US companies contracted by the Colombian government in cooperation with the DEA.

"Decertification" notwithstanding, US military aid for the War on Drugs continues to flow into the Colombian army, even if US Ambassador Miles Frechette doesn't entirely buy Army Commander General Harold Bedoya Pizarro's claim that the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC) guerillas are "the new cartel." FARC is one of numerous players in the Colombian drug trade--along with the army and right-wing paramilitary groups--none of which have replaced the organized might of the old Cali Cartel. However, with *campesinos* angered by the eradication campaign, FARC strength is growing fast. For the first time in over a generation of sporadic guerilla warfare, the insurgency is beating back the army, especially in the Amazon.

Amnesty International reports that *almost every unit* of the Colombian army implicated in murdering civilians has received US arms and equipment for the Drug War. These army units overlap with unofficial death squads and paramilitary groups which are carrying out a grisly "dirty war" against the FARC and rival drug gangs, "cultural cleansing" campaigns aimed at gays and drug users, and even terrorizing Indians from their lands to make way for multinational oil companies like British Petroleum. This violence has claimed hundreds of civilian lives in the last two years. These units are often lead by graduates of the US Army's School of the Americas (SOA) in Ft. Benning, GA--known in Latin America as the "School of the Assassins" for its training in the arts of murder and torture. With nearly 10,000 alumni among its ranks, the Colombian army leads the hemisphere in SOA graduates.

The eradication campaign itself has turned bloody. Army troops were sent in when *cocalero campesinos* blocked major roads through the Colombian Amazon to halt eradication last August. Local "states of emergency" were declared, suspending civil law in the eradication zones. Army repression of the *cocalero* protests claimed several lives. (See *HIGH TIMES Magazine*, February 1997--Ed.)

It is in this atmosphere that the city of Medellin--long the seat of the defunct Medellin Cartel and witness to much horrific violence--called for a mayor's conference to explore policy alternatives such as decriminalization and harm reduction. Tentatively scheduled for October, the conference has come under harsh criticism by Colombia's conservative press.

PERU: BACK TO THE BRINK?

Peru, which was threatened with collapse by the bloody Shining Path revolutionaries just four years ago, de-escalated the coca enforcement to appease angry peasants. Now, with the Maoist guerilla movement in retreat from a government "dirty war" as ugly as that in neighboring Colombia, President Alberto Fujimori is bringing Peru back into the Drug War fold.

Despite the opening up of new cropland in the Colombian Amazon, Peru still provides some 70% of the coca leaf used by the industry. It is also the heart of indigenous medicinal and ritual use of the crop, so it was never officially banned there. A state monopoly, the National Coca Company (ENACO) ostensibly controls the crop. But ENACO's low prices are protested by *campesinos,* who continue to sell at village markets for local use. In the high Cuzco area, the traditional coca heartland, the ancient coca economy remains largely unaffected by government intervention, as it has for centuries.

However, 500 miles north in the Upper Huallaga Valley, far greater quantities are grown for transformation into paste and export to the cocaine labs of Colombia. Massive coca crops are relatively new to the Upper Huallaga, where the Andes slope down to the Amazon. The broad, remote valley is a domain of *campesino* colonists, who were encouraged to settle the region by the government. Left on this wild frontier, they shortly came under the control of Colombian drug lords who offered an irresistible price for coca leaf. In the 1980s, Presidents Fernando Belaunde and Alan Garcia declared the Upper Huallaga an eradication zone at US behest--although they resisted demands for aerial spraying.

As DEA-backed police units began manual eradication in the Upper Huallaga, the Shining Path started offering the *campesinos* protection in return for "war taxes" and support. The movement fed off the eradication campaign. Lima sent in the army. Washington upped the ante by sending in a force of Green Berets to back up the DEA and Peruvian forces. Continued US pressure for herbicide spraying merely provided further fuel for the Shining Path. Guerillas shut down roads in the Upper Huallaga in 1988 when the Peruvian government appeared to be capitulating on spraying.

In 1992, President Fujimori suspended civilian government in a bid to crush the fast-growing Shining Path. While his army and secret police worked on terrorizing the peasants back into submission, he wisely called off the eradication program. Within a year, the Shining Path was on the defensive and their mysterious leader "Chairman Gonzalo" arrested.

Continued On Page 21

An Epidemiological Analysis of the CIA-Contra-Cocaine Connection

By Robert Knight

(*Special to The SHADOW*)

The "Men in Black" have been busy this summer. In addition to invading movie theatres, the MiBs have apparently visited "Mercury," resulting in the San José *Mercury News*' repudiation of its "Dark Alliance" series on the CIA-contra-crack connection.

Last August, the *Mercury News* reported that "For the better part of a decade, a San Francisco Bay Area drug ring sold tons of cocaine to the Crips and Bloods street gangs of Los Angeles and funneled millions in drug profits to a Latin American guerrilla army run by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency."

But in May, editor Jerry Ceppos backtracked, saying "Although members of the drug ring met with Contra leaders paid by the CIA and reporter Gary Webb believes the relationship with the CIA was a tight one, I feel that we did not have proof that top CIA officials knew of the relationship." Ceppos' surprising reversal came after the paper removed the CIA emblem from the artwork accompanying the story, and began a slow-speed shutdown of its "Dark Alliance" website.

Why the sudden reversal by the once-defiant editor? Was it because of the scathing attacks on the series in such conventional papers as the *N.Y. Times*, the *L.A. Times*, and the *Washington Post* (which drafted former CIA-apprentice Walter Pincus for an editorial hit)? Or was it -- POOF! --the "Men in Black," using their flash-light memory erasing devices?

Lost memories are common when it comes to the CIA-cocaine connection. Former Director of Central Intelligence John Deutch launched an "internal review" of CIA records and found "no substance." POOF! Attorney General Janet Reno, checking Justice Department files, found "no evidence." POOF!

But there are in fact thousands of pages of testimony and first-hand accounts, along with several congressional probes, and scores of federal court documents detailing the involvement of the CIA and other U.S. intelligence personnel in contra-related drug operations. The author and his writing partner Dennis Bernstein have spent more than a decade documenting these operations on the air and in print: (http://www.wbaifree.org/earthwatch/crackwatch.html)

The current debate is limited, however, because of the ultimately anecdotal nature of the charges, and the "plausible deniability" enjoyed by high-ranking intelligence officials. But if there was in fact a coordinated CIA-contra-cocaine connection, evidence of it should show up on the "radar" of national drug abuse statistics.

"Ebo-demiology" -- The Epidemiology Of Crack In Black America

This report attempts to raise the level of debate from the anecdotal to the empirical, drawing on a wealth of federal, medical and law enforcement data to examine whether there was increased cocaine pathology in the United States during the period of heavy contra-cocaine trafficking.

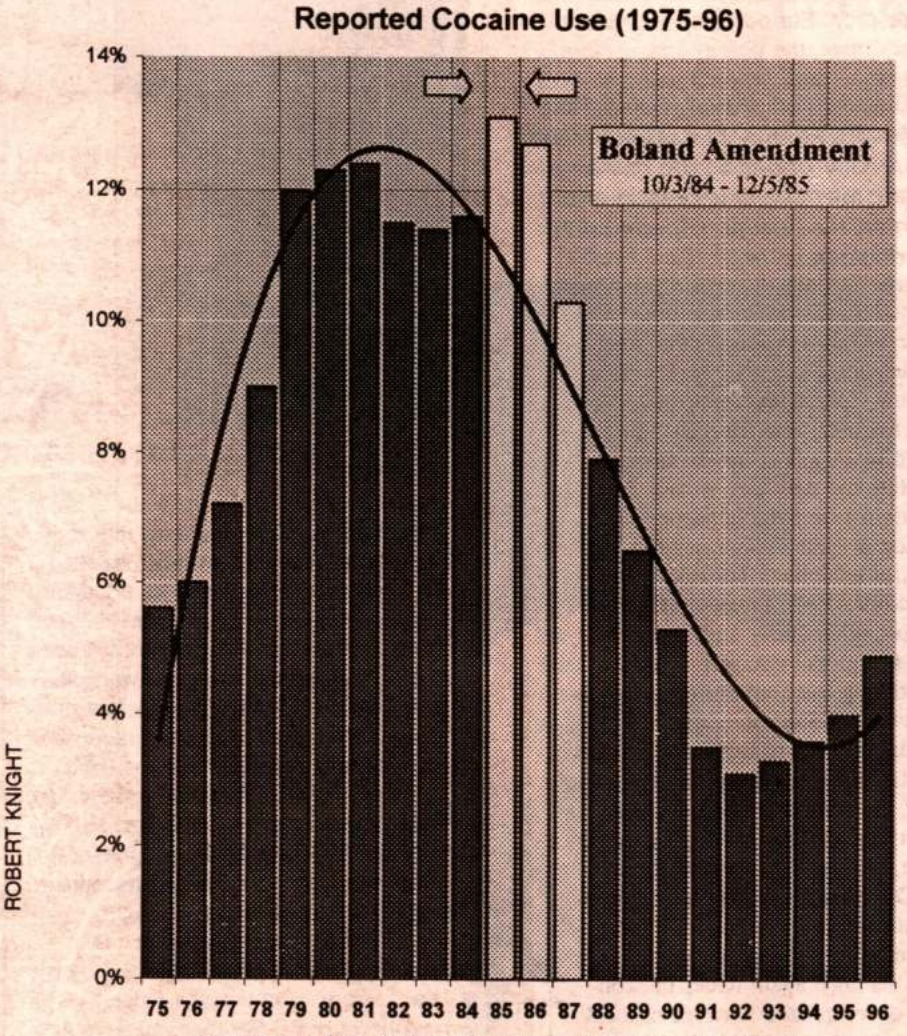
Specifically, one might expect epidemiological anomalies to occur at precisely the time direct aid was legally denied to the contras, during the Boland Amendments.

The Boland Amendments were two Public Laws by which Congress specifically denied first, military support, and subsequently, more than $30 million dollars in direct economic and intelligence aid to the contras.

Statistics from the National Institute on Drug Abuse show a clear correlation between the Boland period and an increase in reported cocaine use among high-school seniors at the highest levels since such statistics have been maintained. Additional data from the National Household Survey on Drug Abuse also clearly show a precipitous rise in cocaine use among the general population between the ages of 18 and 34 years. This increase, like that for high-school seniors, occurs against an overall declining trend in cocaine abuse.

What these statistics reveal is a "cocaine glut" in the mid-1980s that can only be attributed to the contra war against Nicaragua. But the contra operation cannot be fully understood unless it is viewed as a "drug war" which was as devastating to America's cities as it was to the Nicaraguan countryside.

Reported Cocaine Use (1975-96)



Source: National Institute for Drug Abuse / High School Senior Survey

When the Contras Invaded The United States

The year was 1985, and the covert war against Nicaragua came home to the streets and suburbs of America with a vengeance. You could call it the cocaine war. And 1985 was the high water mark of the contra invasion, which had air cover and logistical assistance provided by our own clandestine agencies and military facilities.

The effects of the contra invasion were devastating. The National Institute for Drug Abuse called 1985 "the peak year for cocaine prevalence." It was the year that cocaine-related deaths and emergency room visits increased to 29,000, up from 5,000 in 1981.

Why 1985? For a simple reason: That was the height of the restrictions placed on the CIA by the Congress against their direct support for the contras in Nicaragua. The beginnings of the cocaine epidemic of the 1980s can be directly traced to a National Security Council-directed system set up to violate the will of Congress preventing direct CIA or "intelligence agency" aid to the contras.

The "Smoking Pipe"

This chart shows the reported use of cocaine within the past year by high school seniors during the two-decade period from 1975 to 1996.

The data is from the "High School Senior Survey," funded by the National Institute on Drug Abuse and conducted nationwide through the auspices of the University of Michigan.

The curved line is a third-degree polynomial trendline, which reveals the overall pattern of cocaine use, eliminating the anomalous "noise" or unusual phenomena in the data set.

As is evident, there is an "unusual phenomenon" in the highlighted part of the data set, centered around 1985. Why is this?

The trendline tells us the overall rate of cocaine use in the U.S. was actually decreasing until the contra connection came along. The only other time that even comes close is the turn of the 1980s decade when Central American instability created a chaotic enforcement environment that allowed regional drug dealers to increase the flow of drugs into North America.

But even though the United States' rate of cocaine importation--and consumption--had been diminishing, the lighter-shaded "anomalies" of 1985, 1986 and 1987 show that something happened during those years to artificially increase cocaine (and "crack") activity in the United States.

This empirically verifiable "cocaine glut" resulted from collaboration between the National Security Council, officers of the Central Intelligence Agency (and other U.S. instrumentalities dedicated to the overthrow of Nicaragua) and indigenous agents, drug lords, weapons dealers, military and transportation specialists who could locally assist in the clandestine flow of weapons south to the contras, and cocaine north to America's cities, with the kickback of cocaine drug profits which would, at least in part, be channeled back into the contra effort during a time direct aid was forbidden by Congress' enactment of the "Boland Amendment."

The Boland Amendment

The "Boland Amendment" refers to two Public Laws enacted by Congress during the 1980s which denied military ("Boland I"), and then direct economic and intelligence aid ("Boland II") to the CIA-sponsored anti-Sandinista mercenaries whose goal was the reversal of the "Marxist" anti-Somosa 1979 revolution in Nicaragua.

The first "Boland Amendment" became law on December 21, 1982. This amendment to the "War Powers Act" delimited the military appropriations budget of fiscal year 1985 as follows:

"None of the funds provided in this Act may be used by the Central Intelligence Agency or the Department of Defense to furnish military equipment, military training or advice, or other support for military activities, to any group or individual ... for the purpose of overthrowing the government of Nicaragua."

"Boland I" remained in effect until October 3, 1984, when an even stronger version, "Boland II," was enacted: "During fiscal year 1985, no funds available to the Central Intelligence Agency, the Department of Defense, or any other agency or entity of the United States involved in intelligence activities may be obligated or expended for the purpose or which would have the effect of supporting, directly or indirectly, military c paramilitary operations in Nicaragua by any nation, group, organization, movement, or individual."

"Boland II," which held effect until December 5, 1985, was the "straw that broke the camel's back," as far as the Reagan White House, the National Security Council, the CIA, and its clients in the Nicaraguan countryside were concerned.

It was during "Boland II" that an off-the-shelf privatized intelligence network, spearheaded by Lt. Col. Oliver North, operating through the NSC out of a basement of the Executive Office Building, proceeded to make up more than the missing $30 million in contra aid by "privatized" contributions. Those "donations" to the contra "freedom fighters" came from two sources: the clandestine sale of arms in the Middle East (the "Iran-contra" scandal), and the profits from the sale of cocaine which was allowed through intelligence sanctions to be imported into the U.S. to provide millions of dollars, part of which actually did go to the contras (though much of it went to corrupt contra leadership, or was otherwise unaccounted for).

The significance of the Boland aid cutoff to the contras has been the subject of hundreds, if not thousands of first-hand sworn testimonies by members of the movement, who repeatedly confirm the Boland period as a time when contra-cocaine cooperation went into high gear.

The very minute Boland II took effect, the contra-cocaine deals were being made. As the Kerry committee would eventually report:

"A senior member of Eden Pastora's Sandino Revolutionary Front (FRS) agreed in late 1984 with [George Morales] that FRS pilots would aid in transporting narcotics in exchange for financial assistance.... [Morales] agreed to provide financial support to the FRS, in addition to aircraft and training for FRS pilots. After

Continued On Page 22

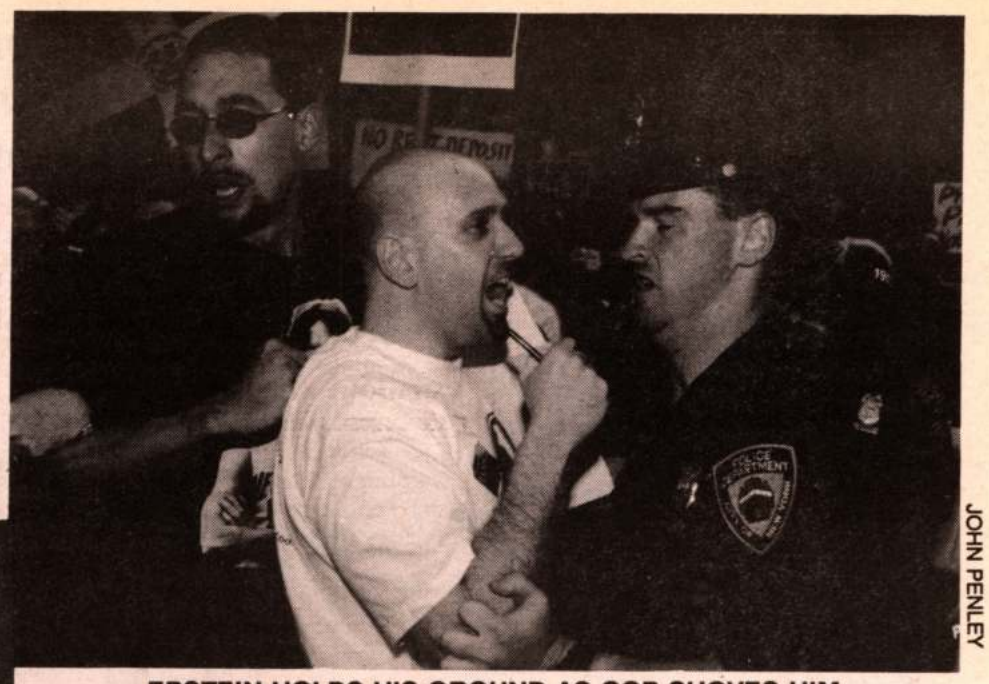
DOWN BY LAW

INTERVIEW WITH ACTIVIST ATTORNEY HARVEY EPSTEIN

National Lawyers' Guild vice-president Harvey Epstein is also a tenant lawyer for the Legal Aid Society. On June 12, Epstein participated in a tenants rights march in midtown Manhattan, where he was jostled by cops. The march was in opposition to plans by some New York State lawmakers to wipe out rent protections for New York City tenants. This interview between Epstein and SHADOW co-editor A. Kronstadt took place on August 14.

JOHN PENLEY

EPSTEIN (Right) CHALLENGES COP TRYING TO STOP DEMONSTRATORS FROM MARCHING



JOHN PENLEY

EPSTEIN HOLDS HIS GROUND AS COP SHOVES HIM

SHADOW: What do you think we lost, *legally, in the June rent control* "compromise?"
EPSTEIN: We didn't win anything, so we lost a lot. Any vacant apartment will no longer be decent affordable housing. Over the next six years, all of the decent affordable housing will be gone. This will be because of these huge increases--30% at least--on vacant apartments.

SHADOW: Didn't that 30% figure come about by some accident in the law where the legislators gave the landlords a 20% increase but a loophole added on the 9% that they were already getting? How did that slip through? How does something that wasn't even the intention of the legislators get itself written into law?
EPSTEIN: I had a conversation with [New York State Senator] Olga Mendez about this, and she thinks that it didn't slip through. She thinks that it was their intention to let the landlords have 30%. They knew this was how the law was going to read, but they just didn't talk about it. We were not allowed to see the bill until it was in its final version. Tenant advocates did not get an opportunity to review it, work on it, or make any changes. Lawyers who work for the assembly read it. They had to be able to figure this stuff out, so we have to assume that they were just going to let the 30% increase happen.

SHADOW: We've talked about the 30% vacancy increase, but there are more horrible provisions in the new rent laws, aren't there?
EPSTEIN: Mandatory rent deposit and the denial of orders to show cause are both extremely horrible provisions. With mandatory rent deposit, after you get an adjournment in court, you are required to deposit the ongoing rent with the court, otherwise there will be a judgement against you and you will be evicted.

SHADOW: How exactly does the mandatory deposit work?
EPSTEIN: Let's suppose the landlord says you owe $2000 in arrears and your ongoing rent is $500 per month. You have to deposit $500 with the court every month the case is going on. So, let's say you don't make the first $500 payment. Then, the landlord gets a judgement for the whole $2500, even if you don't really owe the back $2000, and the landlord can have you evicted if you don't pay it within 5 days. You may have other defenses, you may not really owe the money, but all your defenses are stricken.

SHADOW: Do landlords really go around asking for frivolous amounts?
EPSTEIN: I had a case in Manhattan Housing Court where the landlord was suing a tenant for $14,000. When all was said and done, the landlord acknowledged that all the tenant owed was $468. This was under the present law, so the tenant won. Under the new law, let's say the landlord serves you papers in July saying you owe him $3000 in arrears, and that your ongoing rent is $800. You go to court in August and get an adjournment, and the judge says you have to deposit July and August rent--$800 two times. You tell him, "Judge, here is my lease, my rent is only $400 a month." That doesn't matter--you still have to pay $800 twice to the court to get an adjournment, to get a lawyer, to get an inspector. If you don't make the deposit in five days, the landlord will get a judgement for the $3000 plus the two $800s and can evict you if you don't pay it. Even supposing that you say you don't owe the $3000, all of your defenses are stricken. This is a tool for landlords to evict people.

SHADOW: Do you think that this provision in the new rent regulations is the one that tenants have the most to worry about?

EPSTEIN: No! The provision that tenants should worry about most is called the "...change in the ability of a judge to stay the execution of a warrant..." When a landlord gets final judgement against a tenant, the judge gives him a warrant, and then the landlord gives the warrant to a marshall who carries out the eviction. Under the old law, if, say, the judgement was made because the tenant was in the hospital, got stuck on the subway, or some other "excusable default," the judge can stay the warrant and the tenant gets another day in court. Under the new law, once five days have passed after the warrant is issued, there is no way the judge can stay the warrant. Say that you have made a "payout plan" and agreed to pay off rent arrears by adding $500 a month to your ongoing rent. One month you have an extraordinary expense and only have $400 out of the $500. So the landlord now takes advantage of his judgement, gets an order to evict you, and gives you 72 hour notice. You go into court to try to explain to the judge what happened and that you will be able to pay the rent by such and such a time. Under the present law, the judge can stay the eviction. Under the new law, he has no such authority. He won't be able to stop the eviction even if you prove to him that you will get paid in two days or show him a letter that you have been approved for public assistance. Even if a social worker sends the judge a letter saying that an agency will pay the full rent arrears, he still can't stay the eviction.

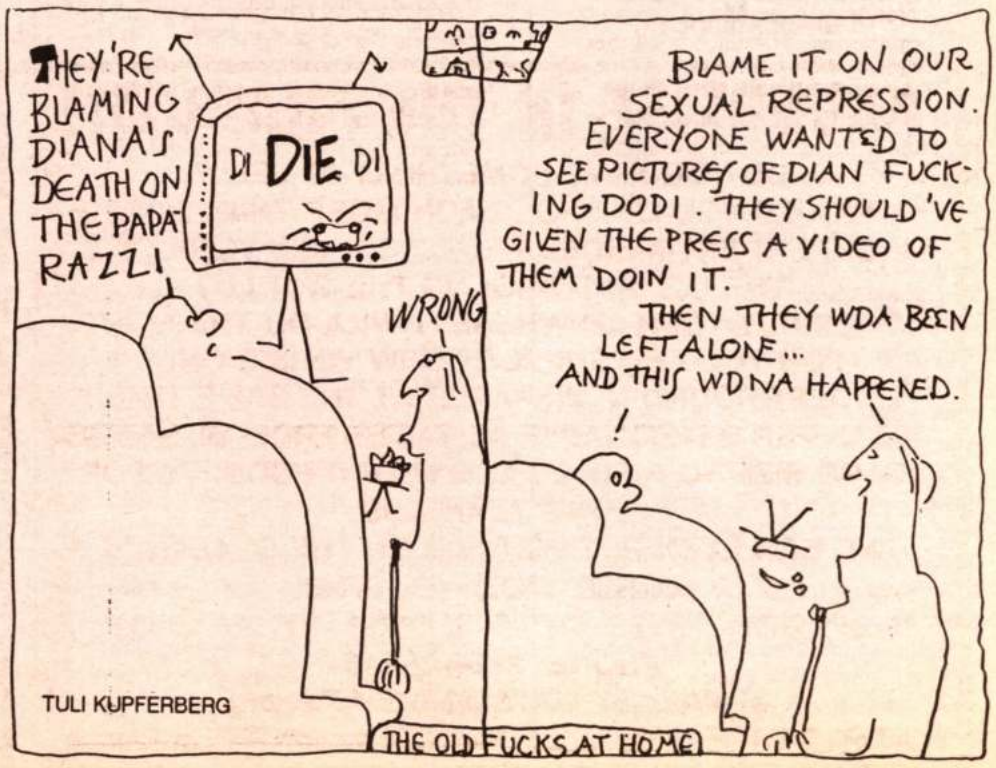
SHADOW: What effect do you think these mandatory rent deposits will have on tenants' effectiveness in rent strikes?
EPSTEIN: This totally infringes on tenants' freedom to go on rent strike. It will destroy tenants associations. Part of the power of tenants associations is the power to withhold money. They can then tell a landlord that they will do this for that, or we'll give you this if you give us that. Now, when you're on rent strike, you can hold your own money or put it with the tenants association. Under the new law, it will have to be deposited with the court.

SHADOW: In practical terms what should tenants do to avoid being persecuted under these provisions?
EPSTEIN: Record keeping and paper trails. They have to work hard, writing letters to their landlord about everything, taking pictures, putting everyone on notice. Save your money; if you're withholding rent, don't spend it on something else. Even if you spend it on repairs you're taking a risk. When you pay the landlord anything under a judgement, be sure you pay with a money order and not with cash. Under these laws, you might have to show the court that you paid all the money *before* you can get a stay on an eviction. They're making it more complicated. This is all geared to make it more difficult to defend yourself pro se, because under the present laws, judges have the discretion to help out a tenant who is in court pro se.

SHADOW: Isn't there something unconstitutional about all this?
EPSTEIN: Yes. There are constitutional questions and challenges to these provisions that are being prepared already.

SHADOW: Who is preparing them?
EPSTEIN: Legal Aid, Legal Services, Manhattan Tenant Advocates, private

Continued On Next Page


THEY'RE BLAMING DIANA'S DEATH ON THE PAPA RAZZI
DI DIE DI
WRONG
BLAME IT ON OUR SEXUAL REPRESSION. EVERYONE WANTED TO SEE PICTURES OF DIAN FUCKING DODI. THEY SHOULD'VE GIVEN THE PRESS A VIDEO OF THEM DOIN IT.
THEN THEY WDA BEEN LEFT ALONE... AND THIS WDNA HAPPENED.
TULI KUPFERBERG
THE OLD FUCKS AT HOME!

DOWN BY LAW

attorneys. There are no plaintiffs yet because the law doesn't go into effect until the second week in October. We're preparing all of the constitutional claims now. You can't be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. Here, you're being denied due process until you've already handed over your money.

SHADOW: Will there be a stay in evictions under these provisions while the law is being challenged?
EPSTEIN: I think that in October we'll get a stay on their enactment.

SHADOW: How can we get back what we lost in the rent "compromise"?
EPSTEIN: The only way we can get it back is to work on new programs, to get funding to get decent affordable housing again. And I think that the "Partnership" building middle income apartments [with $1000 a month studios] is clearly not moving in that direction. [*Epstein is referring to a plan by the NYC Partnership and real estate developer Donald Capoccia to build "middle income" housing on the sites of community gardens on 10th and 11th Streets.--A.K.*]

SHADOW: So you think that the solution would be public housing?
EPSTEIN: Public housing, working class housing, more Section 8 vouchers, scatter-site housing, mixed income housing. The state, city, and federal government used to believe that part of its role was to create housing for its communities. In the '80s they started abdicating this responsibility. This resulted in tremendous levels of homelessness, and all of this has continued to worsen because of the politicians' abdication of responsibility.

SHADOW: Do you think we need new organizations?
EPSTEIN: I think some of the existing tenants organizations are fine. If they're not active enough, you can infuse your energy and take them over. I don't think creation of new organizations is always the answer; you can work within existing structures and use them. Politicians have to be held accountable.

SHADOW: How do we hold them accountable?
EPSTEIN: [New York State Assemblyman] Sheldon Silver has to know how he screwed up, and legislators who balked on this issue need to know that we are not going to accept this. They need to know around election time, by phone calls, at events that they go to, and demonstrations. One of the things that tenants associations are planning is a conference at the end of September to bring tenants together on all these issues. There are tenant groups in each area of the city: the Harlem Tenants Council, Cooper Square here in the Lower East Side, Met Council citywide. I don't think these are bad organizations, and they have existing structures that we can all get involved with.

SHADOW: We meant to ask you about the demonstration in Midtown on June 12, when you were prominently featured [wearing a National Lawyers Guild tee-shirt] on the cover of newspapers confronting the cops. What happened there?
EPSTEIN: At that demonstration, the police expected about 200 people, so at the beginning there were only 20 cops there. But when over 2,000 people showed up, the cops just freaked. They couldn't deal with the numbers. So we started marching up Madison Avenue, and they agreed to give us one lane of traffic. They freaked again when we took half the street, so for the rest of the demonstration there were all these rookie cops pushing and shoving--telling people go here and move there--and when people would ask why, all they had to say was "because I'm telling you to." There was incident after incident of that kind of power thing. Most of the arrests were civil disobediance arrests, though--there were only about two arrests from incidents along the route.

SHADOW: What kind of things are you working on for the immediate future?
EPSTEIN: There's the tenant conference in September that should liven things up. I'm also handling a case involving people who live on 99th Street between First and Second Avenue where the city is planning to build a massive sanitation garage where trucks will be refueling right outside people's windows at all hours of the day and night. This is another facet of the attack on tenants--environmental racism. I'm also working on a case where a fraudulent co-op conversion is being attempted to evade rent regulation in Washington Heights.

SHADOW: What things do you think we should be working on and what will it take for tenants to win?
EPSTEIN: It really takes a tenants movement. The tenants movement has been sort of deflated, and we need things to reinflate it. We need people doing activism again, we need a conference, we need a mobilization force, we need to move in a positive direction to get programs that will help the communities that we care about.

(The National Lawyers Guild can be reached at: 212-255-4181)

PROSECUTOR IN GERONIMO PRATT CASE REFUSES TO LET GO

By Akinshiju C. Ola

After serving some 27 years in the California prison system, Elmer Geronimo ji Jaga Pratt was released June 10 on $25,000 bail. While the Los Angeles County District Attorney did not oppose the bail for Pratt, he vowed to appeal the decision--indicating the possibility that the former Black Panther leader may be retried.

"During my office's exhaustive review, we discovered new evidence relating to the credibility of a witness against Mr. Pratt," said District Attorney Gil Garcetti. "We did not discover any new evidence pointing to Mr. Pratt's innocence."

Geronimo has consistently charged that he was the victim of a political frame-up, and over the years evidence has surfaced that support his contention. He was arrested in 1970 and convicted in 1972 for the December 1968 murder of a Santa Monica schoolteacher, Caroline Olsen. Following years of legal struggle and harassment by prison officials, Pratt's conviction was overturned as the result of a petition filed by his attorneys, Johnnie Cochran and Stuart Hanlon. He had been denied parole sixteen times.

Documents released since Geronimo's conviction have indicated that he was framed by the Los Angeles Police Department and the FBI's COINTELPRO operation which targeted members of the Black Panther Party and other Black nationalist groups. The LAPD established its Criminal Conspiracy Section (CCS) as a special anti-Black Panther hit squad. During Pratt's trial, the FBI, LAPD and the D.A.'s office deliberately withheld from the defense information gathered through three sets of FBI wiretaps proving that Geronimo was 400 miles away when the murder was committed. Also withheld from the defense was the fact that the victim's husband had identified another suspect, and that Julius Butler, who testified against Pratt, was an FBI and LAPD informer--which he lied about on the stand.

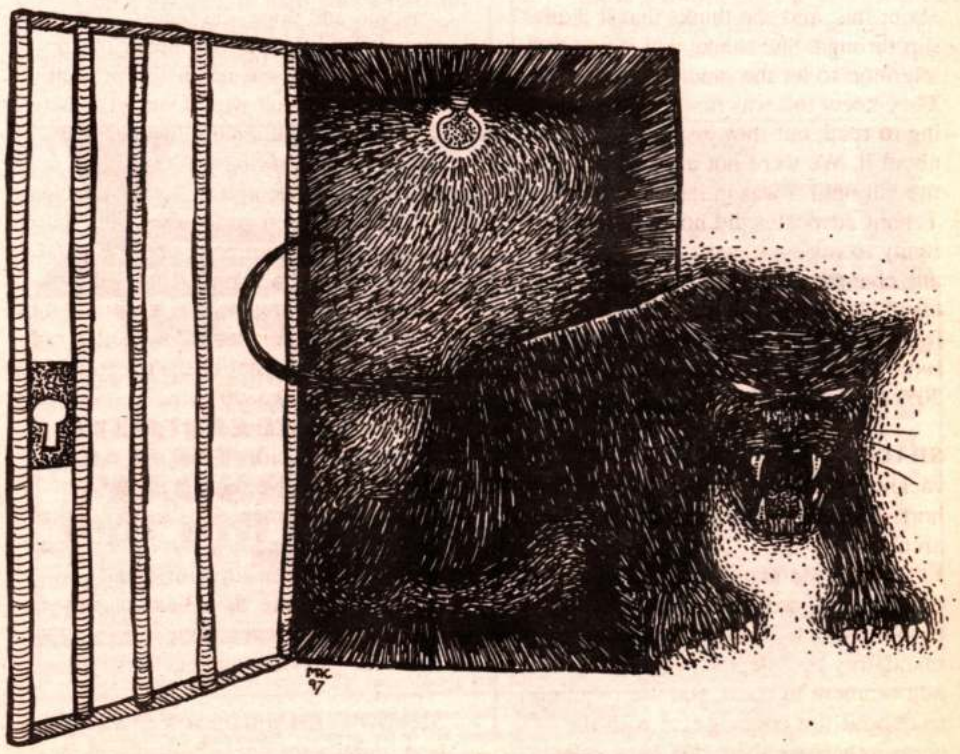
In August of 1996, it was discovered that Butler was not only an informer for the FBI and LAPD, but also for the Los Angeles D.A.'s office. In 1995, former FBI agent M. Wesley Swearingen's book *FBI Secrets: An Agent's Expose*, was published by South End Press. Earlier, Swearingen had testified that Geronimo was set up, and he flatly pointed out that based on his 20-year knowledge of FBI wrongdoing, he was not surprised that Pratt was framed for murder. He then went on to talk about the three different sets of FBI wiretaps withheld from the defense at the trial.

"Additional proof of Geronimo's innocence was compiled by James McCloskey, a lay minister and investigator, and submitted to D.A. Gil Garcetti [in 1993], with the request that he reopen Geronimo's case," according to the Partisan Defense Committee's (PDC) newsletter, "Class-Struggle Defense Notes." In 1992, McCloskey conducted an investigation that "won freedom for two Black men, Clarence Chance and Benny Powell, who had spent 17 years in prison on concocted evidence, when the city conceded that had been intentionally framed."

McCloskey's findings were used in a Fox-TV series which PDC counsel Valerie West stated in a petition, "exposed for the first time the identity of the likely perpetrators of the murder for which Plaintiff has already served 23 years." The petition charged that Pratt was being harassed because of the publicity being given to his struggle, and it was a violation of the Eighth Amendment prohibition of cruel and unusual punishment. Following the television series, Geronimo was transferred to Mule Creek Prison and put in a double cell.

It was the latest of a string of incidents, including years in the hole and the continuing denial of parole. Later, Geronimo's lawyer, Kathleen Cleaver, was barred from his thirteenth parole hearing. Prison authorities were intent on forcing Pratt to renounce his commitment to the struggle of Black people and "to change his attitude toward the criminal justice system."

Attorney Cochran asserts that the evidence clearly shows that Geronimo was framed, and the D.A.'s appeal will come to naught.



MAC McGILL

ADVERTISE IN THE SHADOW!!

**DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING TO SELL?
WOULD YOU LIKE TO REACH MORE THAN 5,000 INDEPENDENT-MINDED PEOPLE IN NEW YORK CITY, THE U.S. AND AROUND THE WORLD?
THEN PUT YOUR AD WHERE IT WILL DO THE MOST FOR YOU AND SUPPORT NEW YORK'S ONLY UNDERGROUND NEWSPAPER AT THE SAME TIME!!
WE OFFER REASONABLE AD RATES FROM BUSINESS CARD SIZE TO A FULL PAGE WITH DISCOUNTS FOR LONG TERM ADS.
WE CAN EVEN PUT YOUR AD ON THE SHADOW'S WORLD WIDE WEB SITE!!
SHADOW PRESS, P.O. BOX 20298, NY, NY 10009
PHONE: 212-631-1181
E-MAIL: SHADOW@MediaFilter.org
WORLD WIDE WEB: http://MediaFilter.org/MFF/mfhome**

Well, here we are again!! NYPD Commissioner/Mayor Giuliani flunky Howard Safir enjoys announcing regularly that incidents of abuse by police are down, citing the lower number of complaints registered with the Civilian Complaint Review Board (CCRB). The obvious reason for the fewer complaints is the public's lack of confidence in the CCRB, which does nothing about the cops being complained about. However, there is a way to accurately gauge an increase in police violence and abuse. According to *New York Newsday*, over the last three years, the city has paid out in excess of $66 million to settle more than 1,100 police brutality lawsuits. This is in comparison to the $72 million paid out over the entire seven years (1987-1993) prior to 1994. The total annual cost to taxpayers has risen from $9.9 million in 1992 to $22 million in 1996.

****

The drug war came home to motorists caught in rush hour traffic on the West Side of Manhattan June 7 as Federal Customs agents set up a sting operation at a parking lot on 10th Ave. and 34th Street--which ended up in a gunfight. The shooting broke out after a gang of robbers sneaked up on the drug dealers who were the object of the sting, who were transferring the money to the agents, who were posing as money launderers. One robber was shot dead and a Customs agent was wounded. The federal cops chose to draw all of these gunmen together at a corner which is not only the gateway to the Lincoln Tunnel, but a busy industrial area at the end of the working day, all in the interest of law and order.

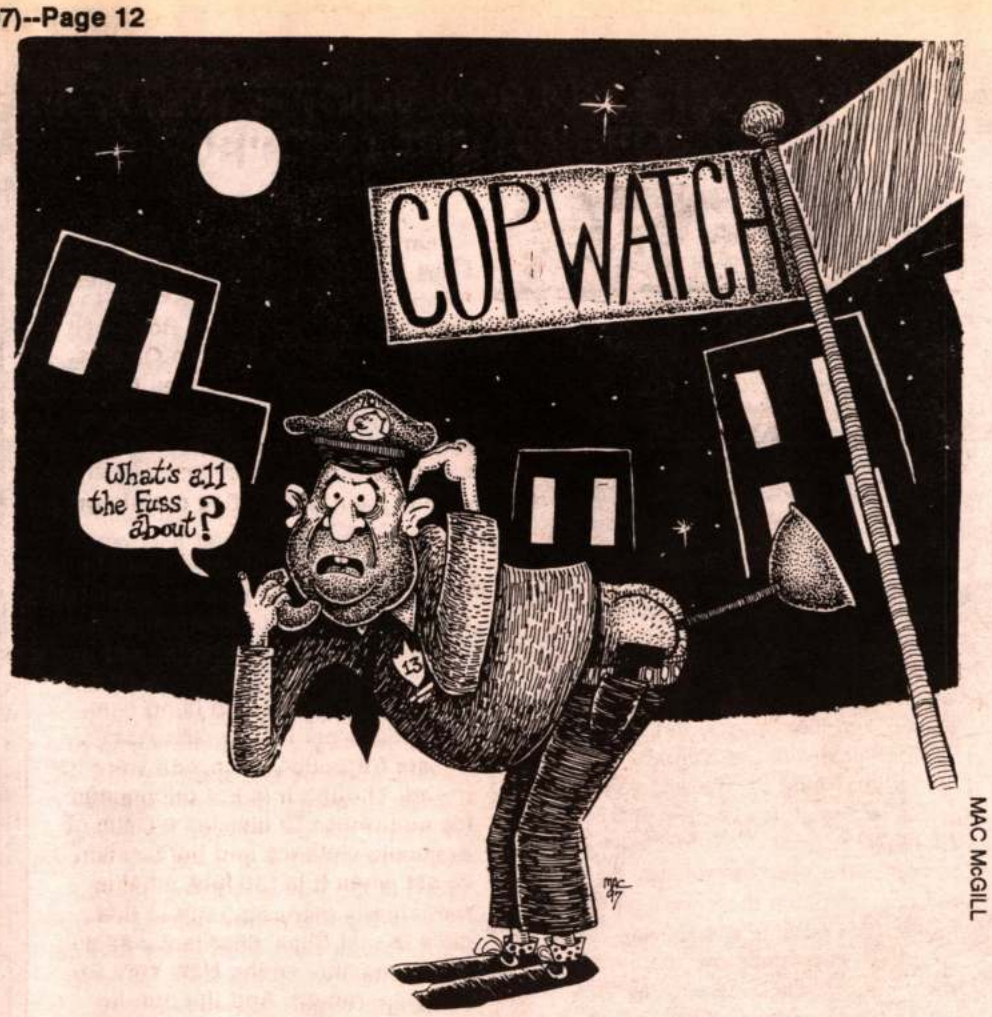
****

On July 1, a grand jury decided that Officer Anthony Pellegrini was justified when he killed 16-year old Kevin Cedeno in Washington Heights on April 6. Pellegrini shot Cedeno in the back the cop and his partner responded to a gang fight between Dominican and West Indian youths on 162nd Street. Pellegrini singled out Cedeno after seeing a dark object protruding from his clothing, which Pellegrini claimed he thought was a gun. As Cedeno fled, Pellegrini shot him in the back. The dark object turned out to be a machete. Members of Cedeno's family are suing the NYPD.

****

On May 2 a Brooklyn Grand Jury cleared Officers Keith Tierney and James Gentile of charges in the killing of Aswan Watson, whom they shot 18 times after he entered a stolen car that they were staking out. On June 13, 1996, the cops saw Aswan reaching for an object and opened fire--the object turned out to be a steel anti-theft device.

****



MAC McGILL

Officer Paolo Colecchia has become just the third New York City police officer to sentenced to prison for homicide committed while on duty. He was sentenced to one and one half to four years in jail for killing Nathaniel Gaines, a black Persian Gulf War veteran and highway toll taker with no criminal record. Colecchia and an off-duty cop were picking on Gaines as he rode a subway train in the Bronx on July 4, 1996. First the off-duty cop told Colecchia, who was in uniform, that Gaines was carrying a gun. Colecchia stopped the train, patted Gaines down without arresting him, then released him when no gun was found. The off-duty cop, Colecchia, and Gaines continued riding and the off-duty cop told Colecchia that he suspected Gaines of stalking a woman, whereupon Colecchia pulled Gaines off the train. At a certain point, Gaines ran and was shot in the back repeatedly by Colecchia. In a rare move, the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association has refused to pay for Colecchia's legal expenses.

****

Former NYPD officer Francis Livoti, dismissed from his job but acquitted of criminal charges in the the 1994 choke hold killing of Anthony Baez, has been charged with misdemeanor assault and reckless endangerment for placing another young man in a choke hold. This charge dates from 1993, predating the Baez incident. Livoti is charged with grabbing Steven Resto by the neck after stopping him for riding a go cart on University Avenue in the Bronx. Resto maintains that the choke hold caused him pain, bruises, loss of breath, and difficulty in swallowing.

****

On August 19, white Yonkers police officer Robert Clarke pleaded guily to having assaulted black news writer Ernest Campbell in a racially-motivated attack outside Madison Square Garden on March 27, 1996. Clark and his older brother Thomas, who is not a cop, were intoxicated as they left a Rangers game that night and pummelled Campbell to the ground, repeatedly calling him a nigger. Both of the Clark brothers received sentences of three years probation and 200 hours of community service.

****

An off-duty police sergeant driving with a blood alcohol level of 2.6 crashed his automobile into a livery cab, and, while trying to flee from the scene of the accident was shot to death during a struggle with irate onlookers in Jackson Heights, Queens. The bystanders forced their way in the back of the car and Sgt. Walker Fitzgerald pulled his service revolver on them. As they tried to disarm the drunken cop, who had been kicked out of a topless bar minutes earlier, the gun went off and killed Fitzgerald. A Jackson Heights man was arrested and charged with manslaughter.

****

Trial has begun for Richard DiGuglielmo, a white police officer accused of the off-duty shooting of a black man over a parking space. DiGuglielmo, accused of shooting Charles Campbell, who had parked in front of a delicatessen run by the cop's father in Dobbs Ferry, New York, in order to buy a slice of pizza across the street. The elder DiGuglielmo regarded the parking space, which was on a public street, as his property and for his customers only; over twenty people had complained to Dobbs Ferry police that the deli owner had shouted racist or sexist slurs and even physically attacked them after they had parked in that same space. After an argument with Campbell, Officer DiGuglielmo ran inside the store, got his father's gun, and shot Campbell. DiGuglielmo is charged with second degree murder.

****

Officer Benjamin Rodriguez of the 79th Precinct in Brooklyn was placed on modified duty August 18 for an alleged sexual assault against a woman whom he had arrested. Rodriguez arrested the woman for disorderly conduct after a domestic dispute at her house in which she reportedly threw an object at her husband. At the station, the woman reported, Officer Rodriguez groped her and forced her to perform oral sex--repeating the sexual harassment in several different areas of the precinct house. Another cop at the precinct is corroborating the woman's story.

****

A *New York Observer* poll taken on September 4-7 revealed the following statistics about consciousness of police brutality in New York--54 percent of those [registered voters of all races] polled believed that incidents such as the torture of Abner Louima were not isolated incidents but part of a pattern of police abuse; 45 percent believe that such abuse is tolerated by precinct commanders in certain parts of the city. 80 percent of black and 71% of Latino registered voters said they believed that the Louima incident was part of a pattern of abuse.

****

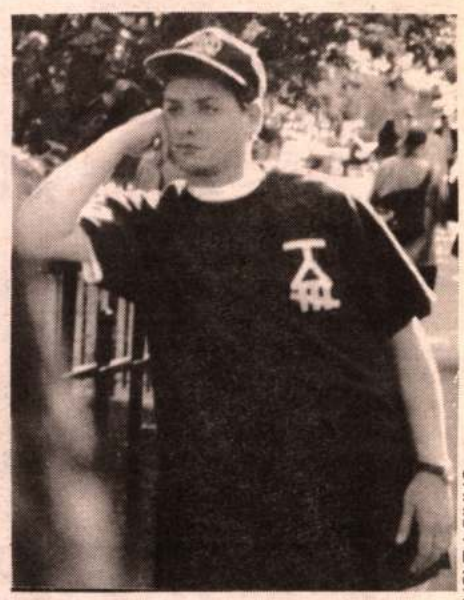
Members of the newly-formed Black Panther Organization have taken to the streets of Washington Heights with high-end video cameras to videotape the actions of police officers. The cameras, equipped with telephoto lenses enabling the Panthers to keep a safe distance, were purchased with a grant from the William Kunstler Memorial Fund.

****

When your surfing the internet, check out the Global Kop Watch site run by SHADOW Kop-Watchers. You can share experiences and kop photos with the rest of the world. The address is: http://mediafilter.org/globocop.

****

If you have anything to share with Kop-Watch (reports, photos, undercover kop car license plates, etc.), please send it to: The SHADOW, P.O. Box 20298, New York, NY 10009, Attn: Kop-Watch

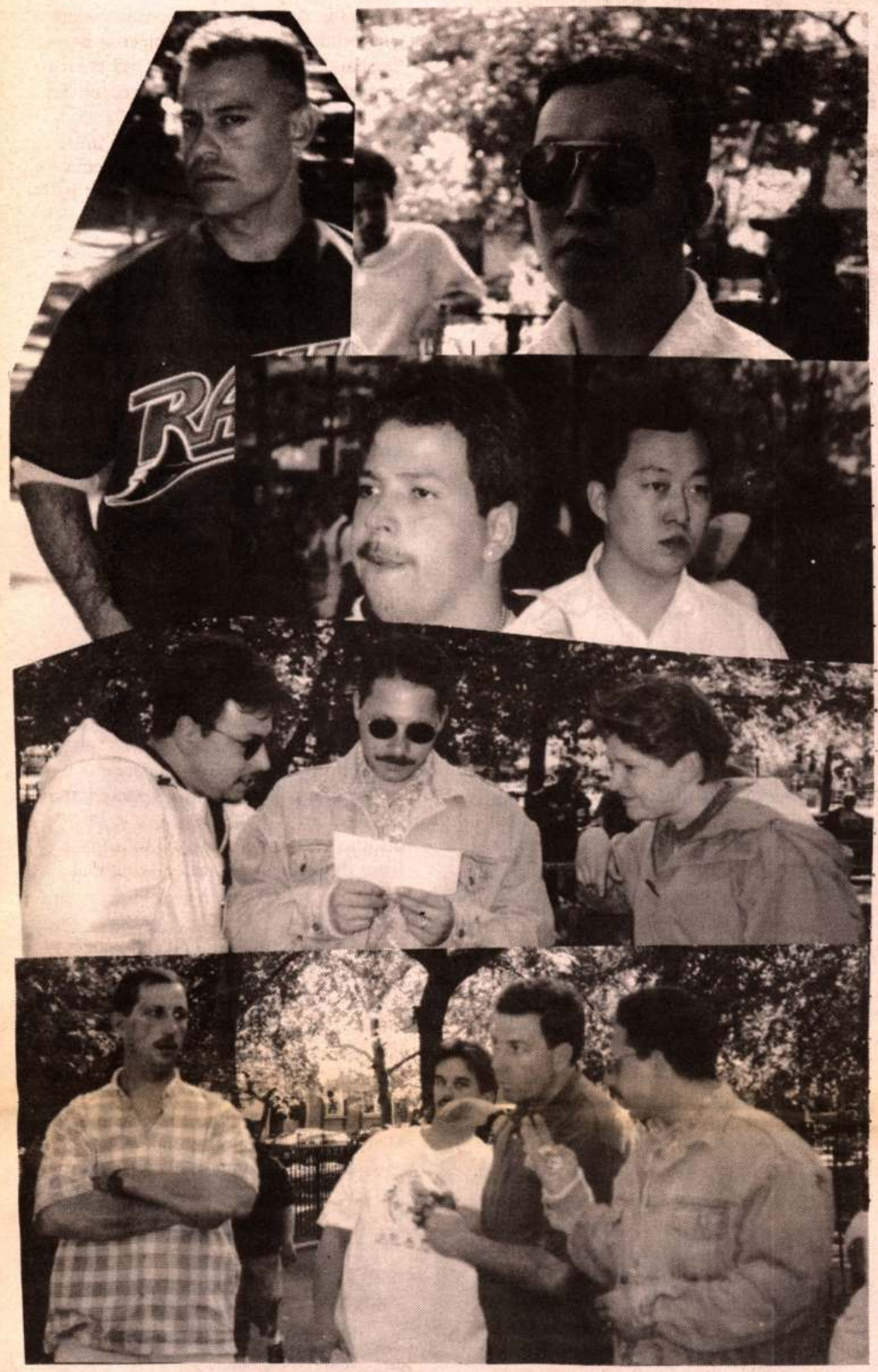


CHRIS FLASH

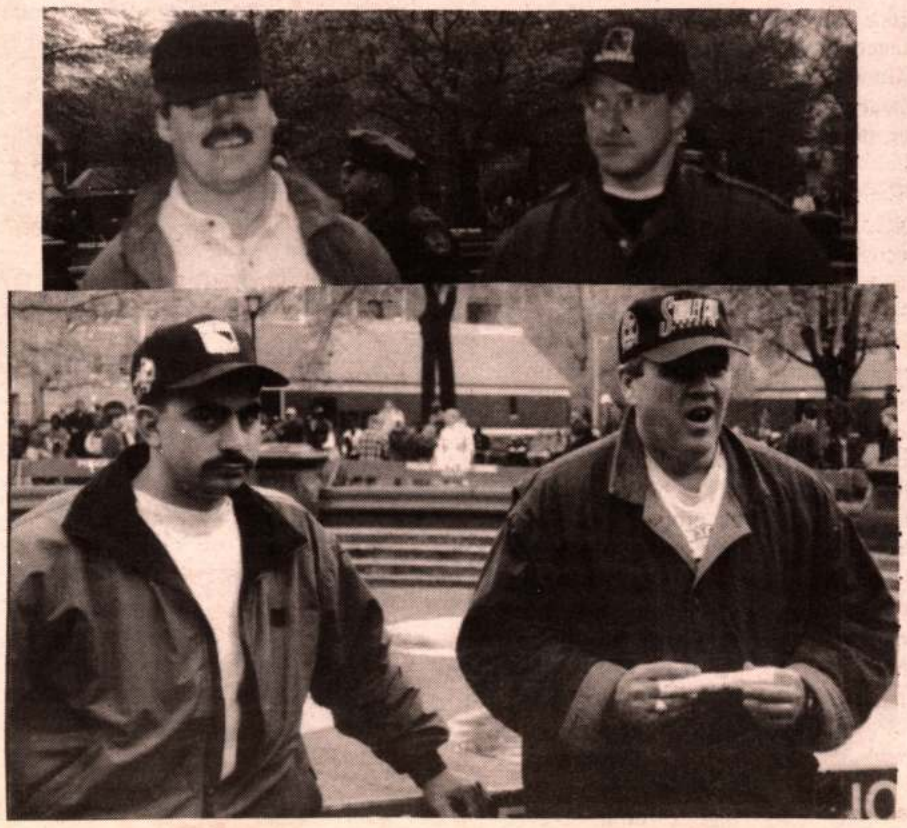
THIS KOP AT THE MEMORIAL DAY CONCERT IN TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK MUST BE GOOD BECAUSE EVEN THE SHADOW COULDN'T GET ONE OF THESE T-SHIRTS HANDED OUT AT THE SHOW!!

HEAL!
UPCOMING SHOWS INCLUDE:
$7 @DOOR
Coney Island HIGH
$5 w/PASS
15 St. Mark's Pl. (btwn 2nd & 3rd Aves.)
GREEN WHORE NYC
SAT SEPT 20 @12PM
Continental
25 3rd Ave. (@ St. Mark's Pl.)
FREE
MON SEPT 22 @10PM
THE POINT
940 Garrison St., Bronx (#6 train to Hunt's Point/Manida Ave)
(Bruckner Expressway to Hunt's Point) [718-542-4139 directions]
to benefit:
STOP POLICE BRUTALITY
OCTOBER 22 WEAR BLACK
THURSDAY
OCT. 16TH 8PM
w/Reconstruction, open mic poetry & much more
$6 adv. Tickets avail at: $8 door
Revolution Books: 9 W.19th St. Blackout Books: 150 Ave. B
Freeky Treets: in Coney Island High- 13 St. Mark's
More Info: (212) 822-8596
As seen in NYPRESS: "Their music is pretty darn punk and very melodic. The lyrics are very intelligent, and the singer, Stephan, has one of the few good voices left in New York." - George Tabb
O.K., so you can't come out to a FREE show at Continental because you've got to work on Tuesday, right? Well, how's about a measley 5 bucks to come out to the premier Saturday night party at Coney Island HIGH! This time we've got you covered. No shows must provide a doctor's note!
FOR MORE INFO CALL 212-352-4302 24HRS
OCTOBER 22 WEAR BLACK TO PROTEST POLICE BRUTALITY!

KOP-WATCH GALLERY



THESE KOPS WERE SEEN AT THE MAY DAY + MEMORIAL DAY CONCERTS IN TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK



THESE KOPS WERE SPOTTED IN WASHINGTON SQUARE PARK AT THE MAY 3RD SMOKE-IN, LOOKING FOR POT SMOKERS

PSYCHO SUICIDE KOP KILLS EX-GIRLFRIEND AND HIMSELF

By Michele Berger

On June 10, twenty-five year old Bliss Verdon was gunned down by her ex-boyfriend, Rodney Dilbert, near a subway station at Roosevelt Avenue and 77th Street in Queens. After unloading up to seven bullets from his 9mm on Bliss as she spoke on a pay phone, Dilbert then turned his gun on himself, committing suicide in front of horrified rush-hour bystanders.

Dilbert had been stalking Bliss for months, making harassing calls and sending threatening letters after she chose to end their eight month relationship. Despite her going through the proper channels in filing complaints against Dilbert, Bliss' requests for police protection were ignored. Though it is not uncommon for authorities to dismiss a claim of domestic violence and harassment or act when it is too late, what is particularly disturbing about this case is that Bliss' assailant was an active member of the New York Police Department. And the gun he used to end her life was issued to him by an agency who claims that their purpose is "to protect and serve," not to hunt and kill.

Bliss had never imagined that Rodent's obsession for her would come to such a tragic end. She was not afraid of his behavior, but rather saw it as an inappropriate and irresponsible way for an officer to behave. In May, when Dilbert's calls became intolerable, Bliss called 911 for assistance. Sergeant John Taggert was sent to her apartment in Queens. As she explained the situation to Taggert, Dilbert called again. Taggert spoke with him, as he told Bliss, "cop to cop," threatening to have him arrested if he continued harassing Bliss. According to one source, Dilbert said, "I read you loud and clear."

From there, Taggert should have followed proper procedure by notifying Dilbert's immediate supervisor as well as the Bureau of Internal Affairs. Taggert failed to do so, leaving Bliss to fend for herself. The harassment continued until Bliss filed a formal complaint on May 29 at the 115th precinct. By then, Dilbert's behavior had become increasingly agressive and unstable. On June 6, Bliss directly contacted Dilbert's supervisor, Captain Stephan Savas, for assistance. Like Taggert, Savas apparently did not take Bliss seriously, and he failed to do anything for her protection.

After Bliss' death, a police investigation and pending lawsuit against the city led to Sergeant Taggert's dismissal from the force. In his defense, Taggert claimed that he had no knowledge that Dilbert was a cop. Though no criminal charges were brought against him, Taggert will lose his pension and retirement benefits. An NYPD prosecutor at his administrative trial called Taggart's lack of action a "misguided effort to protect a fellow officer."

This case does little or nothing to change the system of law enforcement which relies on excessive force and oppression of women and minorities. Though Bliss repeatedly appealed to the system of which Dilbert was a member for help, the police department instead demonstrated that it is more concerned with protecting its ranks from civilian inquiry than it is with public safety and well being.

BLISS VERDON

Despite the fact that police officers have a higher rate of incidents of divorce, domestic violence and substance abuse than any other occupation, a complaint against a cop is often viewed more as an annoyance than a serious matter. This applies to officers with a history of erratic or violent behavior, like Dilbert.

At one point in his four year career as a cop, Dilbert was relieved of his weapon and put on suicide watch. With this episode in his background, any harassment complaint should have resulted in immediate action. At the very least, the NYPD should have confiscated his weapon until the complaint was resolved.

Civilians should not have to rely on the inefficient and corrupt police department for dealing with complaints against officers. Existing agencies, such as the Department Advocate and the Civilian Complaint Review Board (CCRB) are known for their lack of action and objectivity in dealing with police abuse. These agencies are staffed by cops and are closely tied to the police department whose officers' actions they are supposed to investigate.

Bliss and I were friends for eight years. I watched her grow from a young Gothic animal rights club-girl into a beautiful, highly-educated and driven adult. Ironically, at the time of her death, Bliss had been working with president Clinton's Americorps violence prevention program at New York University, and she had an avid interest in international politics. I am deeply saddened at the loss of her life, but I am even more outraged at the system which allowed a sociopath like Rodney Dilbert to rob the world of her brilliance.

(The telephone number for the Department Advocate, which handles legal problems, is 212-374-5147. The Civilian Complaint Review Board telephone number is: 212-442-8833.)

EVENTS/EVENTS/EVENTS/EVENTS/ EVENTS/EVENTS/EVENTS/EVENTS/ EVENTS/EVENTS/EVENTS/EVENTS/

THROUGH OCTOBER 5: JIM JARMUSCH RETROSPECTIVE: All of downtown indie film maker Jarmusch's films from Stranger than Paradise to his latest, Year of the Horse, plus shorts and music videos. At Museum of the Moving Image, 35th Ave. + 36th St., Astoria, Queens. $8:00. Info: 718-784-0520.

****

THROUGH OCTOBER 11: ANDY WARHOL EXHIBIT: Warhol's 1975 series "Ladies and Gentlemen," with portraits of glamorous transvestites. At Gagosian Gallery, 980 Madison Ave. Free. Info: 212-744-2313.

****

THROUGH OCTOBER 18: JOACHIM KOESTER EXHIBIT: Photo installation on "Christiania," an anarchistic squatter community in Copenhagen. At Gallery Green Naftali, 526 W. 26th St. Free. Info: 212-463-7770.

****

THROUGH OCTOBER 19: FRINGE DWELLERS: Art exhibit at ABC No Rio, 156 Rivington Street. Exhibition hours Saturday and Sunday 2-5:00 pm.

****

THROUGH NOVEMBER 8: HOME: Art exhibit at Bullet Space Gallery, 292 E. 3rd St. Exhibition hours Saturday + Sunday 2-5:00 pm. Info: 212-982-3580.

****

SEPTEMBER 23: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ALLEN GINSBERG + PULL MY DAISY: Two beat film classics. At Films Charas, 360 E. 10th St. (off Ave. B), 8:00 pm.

****

SEPTEMBER 24: BANNED POETRY *IN PUBLIC PLACES:* *Readings by* Julio Marzan and Grace Paley from the Index on Censorship. At Friends Meeting House, 15 Rutherford Place (15th St. bet. 2nd & 3rd Ave.) 6:30 pm. Free. Info: 212-254-9628.

****

SEPTEMBER 24: "ON THE ROAD" MARATHON READING: 40th anniversary reading of Jack Kerouac's classic beat novel. At the Poetry Project, St. Marks in the Bowery Church, 131 E. 10th St., at 2nd Ave., 7:00 pm. $7.00. Info: 212-674-0910.

SEPTEMBER 28: ALLEN GINSBERG MEMORIAL HOWL: Commemorate the life of beat poet and long time LES resident Allen Ginsberg with a vegetarian picnic, poetry readings, music and open mike at Central Park's "Frisbee Hill" on the rocks east of Sheep's Meadow (Entrance at 72nd St). 2:00 pm. Free!!! Bring your instruments.

****

SEPTEMBER 29 - OCTOBER 1: NATIONAL CALL-IN PROTEST AGAINST PIGEON SHOOTS!: The Fund for Animals is urging people to flood the PA House and Senate with calls condemning the barbaric legal hobby of shooting birds for fun. Call House Speaker Matt Ryan at 717-787-4610 and Senate President Robert Jubelirer at 717-787-5490.

****

SEPTEMBER 30 - OCTOBER 2: ROBERT McCHESNEY TAKES ON MEDIA GLOBALIZATION ON PAPER TIGER TV: Professor and author McChesney discusses the Communications Act of 1996 and "globalglobertations." Tuesday 8:00 pm on Channel 34; Wednesday 11:00 pm on Channel 34 + 67; Thursday 12:00 am + 5:30 pm on Channel 68.

****

OCTOBER 4-NOVEMBER 30: PUBLIC NOTICE--ART AND ACTIVIST POSTERS: Exhibit of political posters, including works by Guerilla Girls, Art Workers Coalition, Seth Tobocman and others. At Exit Art Gallery, 548 Broadway. Free. Info: 212-966-7745.

****

OCTOBER 12: RADICAL WALKING TOUR OF GREENWICH VILLAGE: With Bruce Kayton. Sites of Emma Goldman, Weatherman Underground, Stonewall Riots and more. 1:00 pm. $6.00 for 3 hours. Info: 718-492-0069.

****

OCTOBER 16-19: MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY CONGRESS: A gathering of alternative media makers and critics. Workshops, trainings and seminars on media activism and alternative journalism. At various NYC locations. Info + prices: 415-284-1420 or http://www.mediademocracy.org. No fee for LES alternative media makers.

OCTOBER 18: BENEFIT FOR ABC NO RIO: The poets and writers of ABC No Rio hold a benefit reading to raise money so ABC can buy its building from the city. At Café Nico, 101 Ave. A. 8:00 pm. Suggested donation $3-$10. Info: 212-674-3585.

****

OCTOBER 21: DRACULA--THE FIRST 100 YEARS ARE ALWAYS THE HARDEST: Multimedia presentation on vampirism as metaphor for homosexuality and Bram Stoker's 100-year-old novel. Clips from vampire movies. At Lesbian and Gay Community Center, 208 W. 13th St. 7-9:00 pm. $3.00 (Wear vampire costume and get in free). Info: 212-620-7310.

****

OCTOBER 22: NATIONAL DAY OF PROTEST AGAINST POLICE BRUTALITY: Wear black and attend marches, rallies, and readings of long list of people killed by police. Sponsored by Stolen Lives Project. NYC locations to be announced. (Last year's rally was in City Hall Park). Info: 212-822-8596. *http://www.unstoppable.com/22.*

****

OCTOBER 29: RENTERS, KNOW YOUR RIGHTS: Seminar with tenant advocate/attorney Robert Shemin on how to enforce your rights, get landlords to make repairs, get rent abatements, and spot illegal landlord tricks. $39.00 (Useful if you can afford it). At the Learning Annex. Info: 1-800-US-ANNEX.

****

OCTOBER 31: MACBETH'S WITCHES: Celebrate halloween with the witches at Bullet Space Gallery, 292 E. 3rd St. Info: 212-982-3580.

****

NOVEMBER 9: RADICAL WALKING TOUR OF L.E.S: With Bruce Kayton. Sites of Meyer London, Emma Goldman, 1910 Bank Riots and more. Meet at Educational Alliance, 197 East Broadway at 1:00 pm. $6.00 for 3 hours. Info: 718-492-0069.

****

NOVEMBER 13-15: EAST VILLAGE FILM AND VIDEO FESTIVAL: Your chance to show your home movies and weird films! Any subject, any genre. Submissions due by Oct. 15. 2nd annual festival to be held at Trans Hudson Gallery, 416 W. 13th St. Info on submissions and festival hours: 212-780-0104. *http://web.hudsonet.com/~eholt.*

****

THURSDAYS: THE SHADOW NEWS HOUR ON "STEAL THIS RADIO," 88.7 FM: SHADOW editors Chris Flash + A. Kronstadt host news, reviews, interviews, music and surprise guests on Lower East Side's pirate radio station. 6-7:00 pm.

****

SATURDAYS: ANTI-FUR PROTEST: Leaflet against fur store at 90 West Houston St. (at La Guardia Place). 1-3:00 pm. Info: 212-757-2166.

****

SATURDAYS + SUNDAYS: FOOD NOT BOMBS: Serving food in Tompkins Square Park 3-4:00 pm. Everyone welcome, rain or shine. Volunteers needed to help cook and serve food. Cooking begins at 10:30 am at ABC No Rio, 156 Rivington St. Info: 212-254-3697, 11:00 am-3:00 pm.

****

SATURDAYS + SUNDAYS: LES ENDANGERED GARDENS WALKING TOURS: Visit threatened community gardens 1-3:00 pm, weather permitting. Adults $10.00, kids free. Info: 212-533-3841.

****

SUNDAYS: OUR UNORGANIZED READING: ABC No Rio open mike poetry night. No list, no time limit, no bullshit. At ABC No Rio, 156 Rivington St., 3:00 pm. $2.00 donation. Info: 212-674-3585.

****

SUBVERTISEMENTS SUBVERTISEMENTS

(10 cents per word, $1.00 min.)

RADICAL MUSIC--Loud death roaring sounds from the stage below. We sell alternative, metal, and punk. Get the most bash from your cash. Send $1.00 for propaganda to: Soundstage Records, PO Box 507, Preston Hollow, NY 12469

****

$6 REPORTS: Triple your intelligence; Living on wheels cheap; Strength of Samson. $10 books: "Gunless Defense" (mind power secrets); "Retire Without Money"; Mental Birth Control." 200 title Incredible Inquiry Catalog $1.00. Box 2207-76, Garden Valley, ID 83622

****

EARN EXTRA INCOME
Earn $200-$500 weekly mailing phone cards. For information send a self-addressed stamped envelope to: Inc., P.O. Box 0887, Miami, FL 33164

****

WANTED: Lyrics to Steppenwolf's "Monster." I need something to sing in the shower. George Jones #679003, TDCJ-ID, Stiles Unit, Route 4, Box 1500, Beaumont, TX 77705

****

INFORMATION NEEDED for upcoming urban guerilla handbook to be published by SHADOW Press. "How-to" stuff, police methods, legal info, experiences, battlefield plans, hacking/phreaking info, dos and don'ts, photos, diagrams + illustrations, etc. Anything will be appreciated and reciprocated!! Send to: The SHADOW, PO Box 20298, New York, NY 10009

EXTRA INCOME '97
Earn $200-$500 weekly mailing travel brochures. For more information send a self-addressed stamped envelope to: Sea-breeze Travel, PO Box 0188, Miami, FL 33261

****

HEY, DON'T ALL ANSWER AT ONCE!! Shaved-head, bearded, thin, vegetarian, politically obsessive journalist/activist type, mid-30s, guaranteed disease-free, into biking, hiking, serious political discussion (slight tendancy to rant), seeks beautiful, independent, intelligent, politically hip woman, late 20s to mid-30s, for friendship, sex, travel, adventure. No PC authoritarians, New Age flakes or drug addicts, please. Write "Fat Chance" c/o The SHADOW, PO Box 20298, New York, NY 10009

****

WANT A NEW YORK CITY POSTMARK? Make them think you are in NYC. We will remail your envelopes, postcards, etc, from NYC for only $1.00 each. Send your stamped mail inside envelope with $1.00 addressed to: The SHADOW, PO Box 20298, New York, NY 10009, Attn: Remailing Dept. No Questions Asked.

****

GOT SOMETHING TO SAY? SOMETHING TO SELL? LOOKING FOR SOMEONE? RUN IT IN SUBVERTISEMENTS, GET A GOOD RESPONSE AND SUPPORT THE UNDERGROUND PRESS AT THE SAME TIME!! (This ad would have cost you only $2.70)

ON GOGOL BOULEVARD

By Neither East Nor West

On Gogol Boulevard (OGB) is a news-service and update produced by NYC Neither East Nor West, networking alternative and opposition groups in the West and Communist/ex-Communist countries, printing news and documents unavailable in the corporate or "left" media, also incorporating struggles in the "Third" and "Fourth" (land-based indigenous peoples) worlds, with a focus on groups with anti-authoritarian and anti-Stalinist perspectives. We take our name from Gogol Boulevard, the hippie/alternative hang-out in Moscow under the Soviets.

OGB is not for anarchists only. We are interested in all things promoting freedom: workers'/women's/minority/gay rights, environmental/self-determination/anti-militarist issues--any struggle pursuing paths outside capitalist and state bureaucratic models. We invite all those with similar perspectives to contribute to ***The SHADOW's*** *OGB section. Please address letters, reports, documents, debates, graphics, photos, etc. directly to OGB at: OGB/NENW-NYC 528 Fifth Street, Brooklyn, NY 11215, or call 718-499-7720.*

CZECH ANTI-FASCIST FACES MURDER CHARGES

Last March 29, young anti-fascist Pavel Hroupa took a bus with his brother from the Czech city of Prague to Mlada Boleslav. There were also five nazis on the bus. He was verbally attacked and told, "you will not leave this bus alive." At the end of the line, the nazis waited outside the bus with a knife and brass knuckles. In the ensuing fight, one of the nazis was killed with the knife. Pavel was arrested, and is now imprisoned and facing murder charges--although he only fought in self-defense.

Support is needed for Pavel. Czech activists hope that Pavel will be released, as in a similar case, when famous sculpture artist Pavel Opocensky killed a nazi skinhead in self-defense. But it took Opocensky ten years to prove that he was attacked and killed only in self-defense.

To help Pavel Hroupa, contact:

Ivana Vranova
Bohunicka 14
600 00 Brno
Czech Republic
Telephone: 09425-339895 (ask for Borek or Ivet)

Or write Pavel directly at:

Pavel Hroupa 4.3.1977
Veznice Vazba
Straz pod Ralskem 471 27
Czech Republic

PRAGUE POLICE RIOT BECOMES YEARLY TRADITION

Last May 4, 60 heavily-armed and masked riot police stormed the Prague rock club Propast. All inside were driven out to the street as the cops kicked and pummeled them. 40 were injured, two seriously, and six were arrested. The Propast club is well-known as a center of the anarcho-punk and SHARP skin movement, and an anti-racist benefit gig was being held that night. The reason given for the raid was a drug search and alleged Nazi skinhead activity. Three of those arrested still face charges of public disturbance, property damage, and attacking a public official (cop) with a weapon (bottle).

This April, the police commander at this action was fined US $200 for "misusing the public power." One month later, to commemorate the Propast riot, Prague autonomous/anarchist groups organized a protest. The demo was prohibited by the local authorities, but a crowd with banners and a sound system gathered outside the Ministry of Interior. After one hour, somebody--possibly a police provocateur--threw a bottle through a window of the building. In a few seconds, five police vans arrived with some 50-60 special riot police. They attacked savagely, paying special attention to well-known figures of the autonomous and anarchist movement. Arnost Novak, the Ladronka squat project activist, was badly beaten by truncheons, and several police threw him against the stone stairs of the building, resulting in a head injury. The whole area of pavement was covered by bloodstains after the attack. The chief of the Prague police, Colonel Fedorko, was seen beating one young woman from anarcho-feminist group Luna. Journalists were also attacked, including one from the Czech Press Agency, who was beaten by cops who destroyed his camera.

LADRONKA SQUATTERS OFFERED NEW BUILDING

In March, Prague's Ladrónka squatters, whose old farmhouse is slated to be torn down for a high-class hotel, were offered another building in exchange for leaving immediately. They would have to create an official organisation and accept other conditions of the Prague city govenment. The building would be officially rented (but still owned by the City). Most seriously, people now living on the site would be evicted, in a divide-and-conquer move. The squatters are likely to reject the proposal.

CZECH ANARCHIST MAYDAY

The Czech Anarchist Federation (CAF), recently reunited with with the Slovak anarchists and renamed the Czech & Slovak Anarchist Federation (CSAF), held a Mayday protest in Prague in protest of the Czech government's neo-liberal policies. The government plans to de-regulate housing prices, with incremental raises of 100% this year, 200% next year and another 200% in 1999. They want to raise prices of electricity by 67%, the prices of train by 100%, the prices of telecommunication by 100%, mail by 150%, and they want to dissolve the retirement system and free university education. Foreign banks are buying up Prague's housing stock on a mass scale.

CAF PREPARES DIRECT ACTION AGAINST VISIT OF THE POPE

On April 4, some 40 members of Prague CAF demonstrated in the city's main squares against the visit of the Pope. They distributed several hundred leaflets based on the famous Andre Breton surrealist manifesto describing burning churches during the anarchist uprisings in Spain. The rally was forbidden by the city authorities, and some 100 heavily-armed riot police were present.

The Catholic clergy is attempting to get back "their" real estate confiscated after 1945. The government recently issued a statement that they want to "give back" nearly 1000 buildings, several hundred thousand hectares of forest and farmland, and many small factories and workshops. These restitutions also include all those previously owned by Catholic orders, including the "Order of the German Knights," well known for collaboration with Nazis during World War II.

ECO-ANARCHISTS IN SLOVENIA OPEN INFOSHOP

By The Elves

To whom it may concern... a call for help and solidarity...

In Metelkova, a developing social and cultural centre in Ljubljana, Slovenia, the Skrati (Elves), a social ecology group and Collective of Anarchist Pacifist Activities are working on setting up an infoshop, with books, comics, fanzines and magazines, CDs, video and audio tapes, etc. We want to fill our shelves with anything on radical social theory, permaculture, anarchism, feminism, human and animal rights, social ecology, class struggle, racial and native issues, lesbian and gay studies, bioregionalism, liberation struggles, biotechnology and genetic engineering, vegetarianism/veganism, libertarian thought, communes and intentional communities, open/multiple relationships, appropriate technology, third world issues, political prisoners, squatting, DIY culture, etc...

We are without funds, and any donations of money or materials would be appreciated.

The Elves have no leader, nor any formal members. We form a web and not a pyramid. We are a group of individuals, committed to spontaneous nonviolent direct action, and building of a new, ecologically and socially sound culture. We have organised a demonstration against nuclear testing at the French Embassy, a teach-in on the issue of genetic engineering at Metelkova, a squatter cultural centre here in Ljubljana and actions against the Krko nuclear power plant. If you require any additional information or would just like to write, don't hesitate to get in touch!

Contact: Skrati Retina Metelkova, Ulica 6 1000, Ljubljana, Slovenia: *skrati@kud-fp.si*

Stand -up *COMEDY NOIR*

"The counter-culture is back and it's at the "Monkey's Paw" **–Robert Knight (WBAI, Village Voice)**

MONKEY'S PAW

57-59 Cristopher St. 206-0303

EVERY WEDNESDAY & FRIDAY

10PM *NO COVER*

Dow Jones' WBIS+
Where Business Information Stinks
Local Public Television Disappears in New York

By John Veit

SCOTT CUNNINGHAM

Dow Jones and its *Wall Street Journal* first began televising business news in 1978. Starting humbly with one nationally syndicated show--The Wall Street Journal Report--Dow Jones provided corporate worker bees nationwide with weekly market summaries, predictions, and interviews with tycoons and politicos. Nielsen ratings for the show slowly inched to a 1 (one million viewers) and have remained there for the last several years. Like many independently-produced programs, The Wall Street Journal Report has to sell itself to network affiliates and advertisers, but has managed to cover nearly ninety percent of the domestic television market. Unlike most Dow Jones television adventures, The Report makes money--not much, but advertising revenues at least cover operating costs. Dow Jones' other attempts to break into broadcasting have ended in costly failure. Since Dow Jones owns the New York Stock Exchange's ticker information, Dow Jones television had the rights to broadcast the ticker without any delay.

I first started working for Dow Jones TV in May 1995 as a production assistant, splitting my time between their online investor network, the Wall Street Journal Report, and European and Asia Business News. The work was simple, putting the name of whatever talking head was blathering on at the bottom of the screen, finding file footage, and running the teleprompter.

Bloomberg, CNBC and Reuters were the big three financial news networks at that time, with CNN Financial's launch looming. All of the networks followed similar formats. Hot stock picks from "experts" were interspersed with industrial big-wig interviews, stock exchange floor reports, and industry profiles and feature stories. The programming was drab to say the least, but CNBC's success dangled for all its emulators to aspire to. Dow Jones originally owned CNBC, but sold it early on because it wasn't taking off fast enough.

While CNBC parades its endless barrage of industry experts and CEOs, they don't carry as much clout as Dow Jones' *Wall Street Journal*. A refusal to speak with the *Journal* can be seen by investors as a reason to back off. What might a potential CEO be trying to hide? Were earnings going to come lower than analysts expectations? Was the EPA going to renege on the permit to build the hydroelectric dam? Blowing off CNBC can be seen as a matter of course. With that kind of clout the *Journal's* TV operations had one up on the competition.

A cameraman I was working with at the United Nations several years ago once advised me to "pay attention to print people, Veit, they know what they're doing. Radio people sort of know what they are doing and TV people, for the most part, have no idea what they are doing." Since I was working in documentaries at the time, I didn't give his observation much thought. My employers usually had done their homework but were limited by the shackles of technology and time to get their ideas across.

I immediately realized upon arriving at Dow Jones TV that live news is a completely different animal from documentary making. Exhaustive research and fact-checking was suddenly replaced by cursory glances at the *Journal's* front page and a few peeks at the Reuters and AP wires. Reporters became regurgitators scrambling to smear their faces with make-up moments before air. While The Report had a make-up artist come in once a week to prepare the on-camera talent, European and Asia Business News anchors were left to their own devices.

All production assistants started their television experience putting names on the screen for the Dow Jones Investor Network. DJIN was a five million dollar venture linking around 1,000 investors and brokers paying a grand each to a supercomputer network that provided live one-on-one interviews with CEOs, company presidents, and politicians. Newsworthy press conferences and industry conventions were also transmitted over high speed fiber optic lines. The service was so advanced that subscribers could watch the wheels of big business churn in a little corner of their pc screens while writing a memo. A click of a button would blow the image up full size. The pictures moved at 30 frames per second, the same standard as broadcast television. The technology was all there but I had a nagging feeling that even the subscribers weren't watching.

DJIN had a good team working for it. Several talented print writers and television journalists trying their hand at electronic journalism. They also had their subjects by the balls. If second quarter earnings were coming out lower than expected the CEO would be forced to squirm through a live interview with one of DJIN's formidable reporters.

Despite repeated attempts to find out exactly how many people were watching DJIN's broadcasts, my inquiries were always met with vague references to "a lot of people" and "around 1,000 subscribers." Although one month's subscription was enough to pay me for two weeks of my salary, I wondered how they were able to shell out for the dozen or so folks who made DJIN the brief reality it was. These weren't fun-loving derelicts from the East Village burning through their twenties; these were normal people making at least thirty thousand dollars a year with kids and houses in Jersey and boats. I asked Ken Witty, an executive producer working on the PBS series, if he thought DJIN was profitable. He replied that "of course not, not yet, you expect to lose money for the first five years." The TV business as an adventure in speculative investment became glaringly clear at that moment.

Day after day we would run the same dry, generic B-roll for AT&T, Bell labs, Lockheed Martin, Disney, and Microsoft and the reporters would regurgitate what had been on the wires for hours. If anyone was getting their business news from our broadcasts they were already eons behind the eight ball and too late to make any serious investments based on our stale information. Undeterred, Dow Jones honchos thought they were on to something really big and potentially lucrative. Expansion came only a couple months after I started with the announcement of a new and exciting television adventure--WBIS+--based on the purchase of WNYC from New York City.

At a Monday planning meeting of the Wall Street Journal Report, the weekly domestic show recapping the world of American business, it was announced that Dow Jones Television had merged with communications giant ITT to acquire WNYC, a public station providing cultural and foreign language programs to New Yorkers for years. Available on UHF, the city's immigrant communities benefitted immensely from shows in Chinese, Creole, Spanish, French and other languages free of charge. There really was no other source of news for immigrants, but Mayor Rudy Giuliani wanted to make some cash so he ordered the station up to the auction block.

When the deal went down I was in DJIN sending out the press conference to the PC subscribers and a DJIN reporter asked the mayor if he had any plans to provide programming for the immigrant community. Giuliani skirted the question by referring to public access cable availability. Immigrants fresh off the boat from Beijing can barely afford a bunk underneath their sweatshop, how were they going to shell out $30 a month for cable service?

The mayor was shocked at how much cash he was able to score on the deal. Giuliani was expecting only a $150 million or so but Dow Jones/ITT upped the ante and plunked down $207 million. Ecstatic, the former Reagan-era prosecutor delighted in "deciding what to do with this windfall of cash." When asked what his plans were he stuttered a bit, shrugged and ventured, "service the city's debt." Since then, the city has been awash with cash and Giuliani boasts of a surplus. As an added election year bonus the Mayor announced the new Metrocard, allowing subway riders to transfer from trains to buses without charge, after jacking up the price of admission to the subway system by twenty-five cents to $1.50 the year before. New Yorkers reaping the benefits of this program live primarily in middle class suburbs where they support the mayor and watch conventional network programming.

Originally WBIS+ was scheduled to launch in January of 1996. Much to the chagrin of the Journal's radio, print and ticker reporters, all of whom had been safely nestled in the their corners of the building for years, construction of new and elaborate studios began the preceding fall. The radio folks were the first to get shafted as studio construction turned their once-quiet haven into a bustling maze of multi-colored cables and frantic p.a.'s charging through their area with arm loads of videotapes in preparation for the next earth-shaking broadcast. When radio's floor was torn up completely their studios and work stations were unceremoniously deposited into a corner even smaller than the cozy area they had previously inhabited. "This sucks!", reported one of the veteran voices from the stock exchange. Radio was eventually moved upstairs where they ended up in more comfortable and quiet area. The dutiful drones at the ticker, however, weren't so lucky. When WBIS+ revealed its plans to renovate and make room for more news rooms and studios the ticker folks were shocked to learn that they weren't just being bumped upstairs but were being shipped to Dow Jones' South Brunswick office in New Jersey.

By the time March 1996 rolled around there was still no word from the FCC on whether WBIS+ would be able to do its thing on tv. Not they were ready anyway. Studio construction was painstakingly slow. Walls were put up and then taken down again, brand new equipment lingered in unopened boxes for months and newly recruited talent languished around their cubes making small talk and wondering what to do. Some of the anchors were put to work on ABN/EBN. Others just kind of looked busy and hung around.

Like a blinding light from hell the FCC lifted its bureaucratic veil and gave WBIS+ license to broadcast starting in April of 1996. Despite all the preparation, it came as a surprise and the station's managers were caught with their pants down and nothing ready to put on tv. The studios were still under construction; there wasn't enough equipment or personnel to staff a full-time station and they were still battling with ITT on exactly what to put on the screen. Pulling the plug on WNYC, the masterminds of programming hastily conceived the Classic Sports Network for the interim period. Purchasing old games from an archive house, WBIS+ provided New Yorkers with reruns of great baseball, boxing, basketball and tennis matches for twelve hours a day. At night they sold time to infomercial gurus like the Juiceman and Tony Robbins. New York's immigrant community suddenly had nothing they could understand to watch on tv anymore.

At the Wall Street Journal Report meeting when the original WBIS announcement was made I had asked the top brass if they felt any obligation to provide foreign and cultural programming

Continued On Page 21

SUBVERSIVE ELECTRONICS

PRETTY GOOD PRIVACY: *ENCRYPTION IS KEY!!*

By Roy G. Biv

THE KEY TO PRIVACY: Using public key cryptography. This is a primer on the use of a popular, easy, and powerful way to safeguard communications. Part of the "New World Order" is the fact that individuals with 1980's era microcomputers can run encryption methods that resist attacks by the strongest supercomputers existing today.

OVERVIEW OF CRYPTOGRAPHY: A "key" is a word, phrase, or series of numbers used to encrypt or decrypt messages. Single-key cryptography is the encoding and decoding of messages using a single key which is shared between the participants. The drawback is that the participants must already have a secure way to transfer the key. But if they have a secure channel, why should they bother with any encryption at all? Public key cryptography is a method where each participant has two keys: one for encrypting and one for decrypting. Alice broadcasts her encryption key to the public so anyone can encrypt messages to her. She uses the decryption key to decode the messages, and she keeps this secret. Bob does likewise and the two can exchange secure messages without ever having to share a secure communication channel.

OVERVIEW OF PGP: PGP stands for *"Pretty Good Privacy". It is the most* popular public-key system. The rest of this article will be about PGP. Widespread use is good for a cryptosystem. It means that it has withstood assauts from many different people. It also means that versions will exist for many different computers. PGP was created by Phil Zimmerman as a simple and strong public key method. It is illegal to export strong crytographic software out of the US, and eventually Mr. Zimmerman was charged by the federal government, but he seems to have beaten the rap for now.

HOW TO USE PGP: Users create a "key pair," a public key for encrypting messages which can only be read by the private key. Public keys are distributed widely. They are sent to friends, published on web pages, and even sent to "key servers" (computers on the internet dedicated specifically as directories for people's public keys.) Secret keys are protected with "passphrases" (phrases that must be entered in each time you use the secret key to decrypt a message.) This is to prevent intruders from using your key once they have gotten access to your computer. There have been entire articles written about choosing good pass phrases. Passphrases are the weakest link in the chain! Try to be as unpredictable as possible. Don't use a line from a poem or a movie. Use bad grammar and make up new words. Capitalization and punctuation marks count, so use these in strange ways. Throw digits in where they do not belong. Memorize your passphrase and do not write it down. Passphrases are not shared with other people, so feel free to use sexual or racist words to help you memorize it. Your public key is used to encrypt messages, but these keys are opposites of each other, so if you encrypt a message using your secret key, anyone with your public key can decrypt it. This is useful for showing that you are indeed the possessor of the secret key that corresponds to the public key. This is called "signing" a message, and it is a form of authentication. When you sign a message and send it out, everyone who has your public key can verify this signature and see that the message came from you (or somebody that has your secret key.) Suppose Alice and Bob are friends. Bob has a friend in Kuala Lumpur named Carl, with whom Alice would like to communicate. Bob is too busy to introduce them, so Alice sends Carl her key directly. How can Carl be sure this key is really Alice's? Fortunately, Alice has a copy of her key signed by Bob. With Bob's signature, Alice can prove that her key is trusted by Bob. People who trust Bob will then trust Alice's key. This is the formation of a "web of trust." This is one of the strengths of PGP. It relies upon a decentralized, personal trust model, as opposed to having a central database of identities.

ATTACKS: PGP can be attacked. Users should be aware of these attacks so they can defend against them. Most of these attacks are valid for any sort of system, as they circumvent the cryptosystem entirely. A phony key can be created and attributed to someone. If Alice creates a key and distributes it, claiming it to be Bob's, then only she can read the mail that is encrypted for Bob with this key. Furthermore, Bob cannot read any of these messages. If participants can be tortured or bribed into revealing the contents of encrypted messages, there is no need to spend time and money on mathematical games. Passphrases are the weakest link in PGP. If the computer used to encrypt messages is obtained and the user's secret key is discovered on the computer, the passphrase can be attacked. Advice on choosing a strong passphrase is outlined above. There are plenty of interesting methods to recover decrypted messages once a computer is obtained. Decrypted messages may be lying around openly on the hard drive or on floppy disks. If they have been erased, the method of erasure may have been weak. When files are trashed, deleted, or "recycled" under modern computer systems, the data is not actually erased. Recovering this information is trivial, and many utilities do this easily. There are utilities that truly erase files by overwriting the disk space with a garbage data. Modern computer systems also often swap system memory and hard drive space, with the result that chunks of your data may appear in sections of your hard drive reserved for system use. Often, word processors write temporary files onto the hard drive so you can recover your work if the computer accidentally crashes or has its power interrupted while you are working. These may contain sensitive information. Your monitor is broadcasting its contents on radio frequency signals constantly, and these can be recovered with trivial electronic equipment. These transmissions can be shielded, however. This was studied by an engineer named Van Eck--the government standards for transmission shielding are known as TEMPEST.

HOW TO GET PGP: PGP is a commercial product, but you are allowed to use the product freely for non-commercial uses. If you have a computer with a microphone, you can send your voice to another computer in a "phone call" sent over the internet. A program called "PGPFone" encrypts your voice using PGP. It will be found through most places that offer PGP software.

PGP has a website that provides information and history:
http://www.pgp.com.

For the latest version (5.0, for Windows 95 and Macintosh):
http://web.mit.edu/network/pgp.html

Due to federal laws, users outside the US should use an international version:
http://members.tripod.com/~Cromption/pgp.htm or
http://www.ifi.uio.no/pgp/

Also try these sites:
http://www.sni.net/~mpj/crypto.htm
ftp://ftp.csua.berkeley.edu/pub/cypherpunks/pgp/
http://www.gibbon.com/getpgp.html
ftp://ftp.mindlink.net/pub/crypto/software/README

Judge Reaffirms Encryption Case Ruling

By The New York Times

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 25 — A Federal judge has again ruled that Government attempts to restrict the export of data-scrambling software are an unconstitutional restriction on freedom of speech.

The ruling, by Judge Marilyn Hall Patel of the Federal District Court here, reaffirms a ruling she made last year that could undermine a Clinton Administration plan to force United States companies to develop data-encryption systems that would permit Government agencies to eavesdrop on data and voice communications.

The new ruling comes in a suit filed in March by a University of Illinois at Chicago mathematician and the Electronic Freedom Foundation, a group promoting civil liberties. The suit contended that the Government controls were unconstitutional.

Judge Patel's original ruling applied to State Department regulations that classified cryptographic software as a weapon. But in December, the Clinton Administration shifted control over data-scrambling software from the State Department to the Commerce Department. The most recent suit asked the Judge to rule on the constitutionality of the new Commerce Department restrictions.

SINCE THIS DECISION, THE GOV'T HAS SHIFTED TACTICS ON CONTROLLING CRYPTOGRAPHY BY SEEKING LEGISLATION TO IMPOSE "BACK DOORS," ALLOWING GOV'T. ACCESS TO CRYPTO SOFTWARE

RADIKAL.WEB.HOSTING
pgMedia.inc
11 E 4th Street 2F
New York, NY 10003
TEL: 212-677-4080
info@pgMedia.net
http://xs2.net
$25 / month 25MB disk.space
UNLIMITED BANDWITH
FTP TELNET CGIs EMAIL DESIGN PROGRAMING

BOOK REVIEWS

HOW TO CLEAR YOUR ADULT AND JUVENILE CRIMINAL RECORDS

By William Rinehart
(Published By Loompanics Unlimited, P.O. Box 1197, Port Townsend, WA 98368)

Reviewed By Gabby Sloan

The folks at Loompanics have long been known for publishing and distributing books and publications that mainstream publishers would never dare touch. For that alone, they have earned the respect of the SHADOW.

With books on lock-picking, self-defense, avoiding income tax, improvised weapons, drug manufacturing, fake ID, and how to disappear without a trace, Loompanics has been on the cutting edge of controversy and notoriety, stretching the First Amendment as far as it will go. Besides dispensing information of a shocking and controversial nature, Loompanics' most valuable contribution has been their "how-to" and "self-help" books that enable a person to take steps to keep ahead of big brother. One of Loompanics' latest books, *How To Clear Your Adult and Juvenile Criminal Records*, by William Rinehart, is a perfect example.

Countless people have had some sort of negative experience with the legal system that resulted in a conviction, whether they were guilty or not. Some of us got into trouble as minors, but were assured by the courts that our records would "be sealed" once we became adults. Well, don't be surprised, but those youthful convictions were not sealed!! I found this to be true when my attorney showed me my rap sheet he acquired from the District Attorney's office when I was arrested as an adult. Everything before age 17 was still there. Contrary to what you have been told, these juvenile convictions are used by judges against you years later in adult criminal court for determining your bail and sentencing.

Without giving too much of the book away, let's just say that Rinehart's method of clearing criminal records is similar to what one would do to fix a bad credit history. Just as your credit report may contain inaccurate information that can adversely affect your credit rating, your rap sheet may also have incorrect data that can result in improper arrests, denial of bail, and longer jail sentences. According to *How To Clear Your Adult and Juvenile Criminal Records*, you can clear these entries from your rap sheet much in the same way you can clear your credit report.

But Rinehart isn't satisfied with merely correcting your criminal record. He says that like him, you can actually have your records expunged and cleared!!

Rinehart says that when he started clearing his criminal records, he had a seven page FBI rap sheet with three felony convictions and more than 30 misdemeanor convictions. He successfully got incorrect entries removed, got the felonies expunged and erased from FBI records, got himself pardons from governors of two states, and he obtained a Relief From Civil Disabilities so that he could legally carry arms. Incredibly, he later became a guard in the same state penitentiary where he had once been an inmate!! Rinehart says his FBI record is now only two pages long, with no felonies, and only two misdemeanor convictions.

How To Clear Your Adult and Juvenile Criminal Records gives step by step instructions on how to obtain your rap sheet, what motions to file in which courts, and a boilerplate format that you can fill in with certain legal language, sections of the law and statutes to cite, depending on what state you have your criminal records in.

The information in *How To Clear Your Adult and Juvenile Criminal Records* is crucial for those who have criminal records, for those seeking employment that requires a clean record, and for political activists who receive harassment arrests by cops abusing their power. This book is highly recommended by the SHADOW!!

(Rather than just review this book, we feel it would be more interesting to "test drive" it. Being involved in this underground newspaper, it just so happens that we know people who have had some difficulties with the law over the years, and we are going to apply the methods described in this book. We will let you know the results in a future issue of the SHADOW--Ed.)

THE BEAST REAWAKENS

By Martin A. Lee
(Little Brown & Co., Boston 1995)

Reviewed By Bill Weinberg

With tales of Nazi gold and Timothy McVeigh's conviction in the headlines, Martin Lee's new chronicle of the fascist beast's reawakening comes at a propitious time. From the banks of Zurich to the Oklahoma plains, these headlines typify the two types of villains in *The Beast Reawakens,* which traces the survival and growth of the fascist contagion from 1944 to the present: those in the power elite who made cynical accommodations with fascism, and the real, ideologically committed McCoy. (Poor Timothy McVeigh was cannon fodder for the latter.)

The wonderful thing about this book is that there is something here to anger everybody. Lee doesn't let anyone off the hook: the CIA, the KGB, the FRG, the GDR, Arab nationalists, Zionists--all are called out for their slimy accommodations with Nazis in the Cold War.

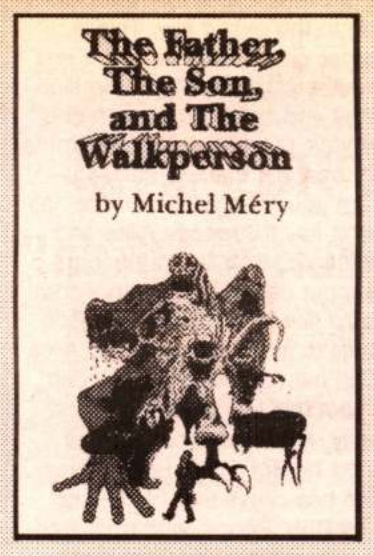
Lee portrays an adroitly ruthless strategy by the most brilliant Nazi minds to have survived World War II to insinuate themselves in places of influence in the post-war order--so as to manipulate it towards their own National Socialist aims. These men ultimately passed the torch to the new generation which is seizing the opportunities of the emerging post-Cold War order.

Lee begins this twisted tale with the July 20, 1944 attempted bomb assassination of Adolf Hitler. In the chaos, Major Otto Ernst Remer of the elite officers' guard and SS Colonel Otto "Scarface" Skorzeny teamed up to preserve order in Berlin. After thus saving the Third Reich from the putsch attempt, these two heros became the Fuehrer's showcase supermen. Skorzeny quickly rose through the ranks of the SS intelligence division. His "dirty tricks" unit did undercover missions at the Battle of the Bulge, and his assassination plots briefly spooked General Eisenhower into hiding. Skorzeny also worked closely with Hitler's intelligence chief for the Eastern front, Gen. Reinhard Gehlen. Remer, Skorzeny and Gehlen would contrive divergent yet interlocking methods of keeping a Nazi legacy--and apparatus--alive after VE Day.

Skorzeny, called "the most dangerous man in Europe" at his war crimes trial, was nonetheless acquitted and, in all probability, allowed to "escape" from his Darmstadt POW camp in a break-out staged by SS men in US Army uniforms. From exile in Franco's Madrid, he became a prosperous arms merchant and freelance spy, working on behalf of such prestigious clients as the Krupps and Argentine dictator Juan Peron. But his most powerful connection was his old colleague Gen. Gehlen.

Gehlen had literally talked his way out of a POW camp--and into the willing arms of the US intelligence community. On September 20, 1945, the same day the anti-Nazi Office of Strategic Services was disbanded, Gehlen arrived in the United States under a false identity. Secret meetings at Ft. Hunt, Virginia, were arranged by Allen Dulles and other architects of the OSS's successor agency, the anti-Communist CIA. Gehlen sold his captors

Continued On Next Page....

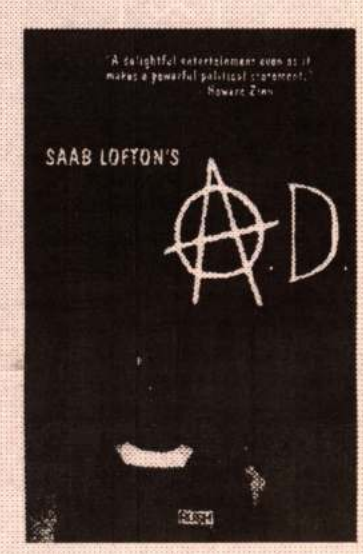


The Father, The Son and The Walkperson
by Michel Méry

"I love this book -- it's metafiction, but not at all self-indulgent or boring. Mery delivers, and on top of that he is pretty droll. The chapter about the doodledoos made me laught out loud! This is one of the best books I've read this year."
-- Kaspahraster
"Includes a number of hysterically funny theological parodies."
-- J.G. Eccarius
192 pages $10.00

A.D.
by Saab Lofton

"An extraordinary work of the imagination." -- Howard Zinn
"An intriguing SF socio- political novel ... The hero is corpsicled 380 years and wakes to a Libertarian Socialist Democracy. Lofton writes a dense, interesting prose."
--Taboo Science Fiction
"Be naughty. Exercise your intellect. Read this book." -- Little Green Men



Available at Blackout Books
and other fine bookstores

Send SASE for catalog. To order direct, send check or money order to III Publishing, add $2.00 per order for P&H. Webbed people can visit us at http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/iiipub/

III Publishing
P. O. Box 1581, Gualala, CA 95445

BLACKOUT BOOKS
ANARCHIST POLITICS & CULTURE

50 Avenue B
BETWEEN 3RD & 4TH STREETS
212-777-1967

BEST READING IN THE OCCUPIED ZONE
OPEN 7 DAYS • NOON-10pm

BOOK REVIEWS

a bill of goods and they bought it. The secret "Gehlen Org" was established under US Army Intelligence auspices at a Munich headquarters; its ranks swelled with former SS, Gestapo and Wehrmacht men from the General's old spy network. The Org would in 1949 be grafted to the new CIA, with Gehlen himself producing Harry Truman's morning intelligence reports. It would finally be transformed wholesale into West Germany's intelligence agency, the BND, in 1955.

While working with his new Cold War masters on clandestine "stay-behind" divisions to make trouble in the anticipated Soviet occupation of Europe--a survival of his earlier Werewolf divisions established for similar purposes under his old Nazi masters--Gehlen was also carrying out his own agenda, coordinating secret international Nazi networks like the SS veterans brotherhood ODESSA. First launched by Skorzeny when he was still interned, ODESSA ran the "ratline" that funneled Nazi criminals to safe havens in Spain and South America.

Remer, meanwhile, led the charge in the opposite direction. After lying low for a while after his release, he went into open political campaigning, founding the Socialist Reich Party (SRP) in 1949--which, tilting to the Soviet Union in its virulent anti-Americanism, proceeded to establish ties with East German intelligence. It would eventually be banned as the "successor organization" to the Nazi Party.

This *Shaukelpolitik*, or "seesaw strategy" sought to play the superpowers off against each other. It also represented an inherent contradiction of Nazism: the anti-Communist dogma and the sacred mission to save Europe from "the Asiatic-Mongol peril" was the Nazism of Operation Barbarossa; the grand design of a "Eurasian" bloc against the decadent democracies of the West was the Nazism of the Hitler-Stalin Pact. This second Nazi vision was answered by "National Bolshevism," the parallel and intersecting current on the ostensible Communist "Left"--which made Soviet connivance with post-war fascism a paradoxical reality. East Germany's Stasi shortly followed the Western competition in extensively tapping the Nazi brain trust.

In the post-war order, Nazi operatives conglomerated in either "Atlantic-oriented" or "pan-European" groupings, closing ranks with one super-power against the other--without ever forgetting the ultimate aim of rebuilding the Thousand Year Reich. Gehlen represented the prior tendency, Remer the latter, while the ineffable Skorzeny danced in between.

Their three networks would converge in some unlikely places--such as the Cairo of Gamal Nasser, where Third Reich veterans were recruited (at CIA behest) for molding the military and intelligence apparati of the first great Arab nationalist regime. The US arranged for Nazi surrogates to avoid antagonizing Israel with direct involvement--while those very surrogates saw the obvious common enemy as the state of Israel. One Yasser Arafat was among the young Palestinian guerillas trained by Skorzeny himself in Egypt. Skorzeny, revelling at playing both sides, would also supply arms to Ben Bella's regime in Algeria--as well as the reactionary French Secret Army Organization fighting Ben Bella! Later, he would supply paramilitary training to Muammar Qaddafi's Libya--and to the white supremacist South African secret service.

This also reflected an internal contradiction of Nazism--between those who sought a German-Arab alliance against the Jews and the West, and those favoring a pan-European alliance against the Jews and the Arabs.

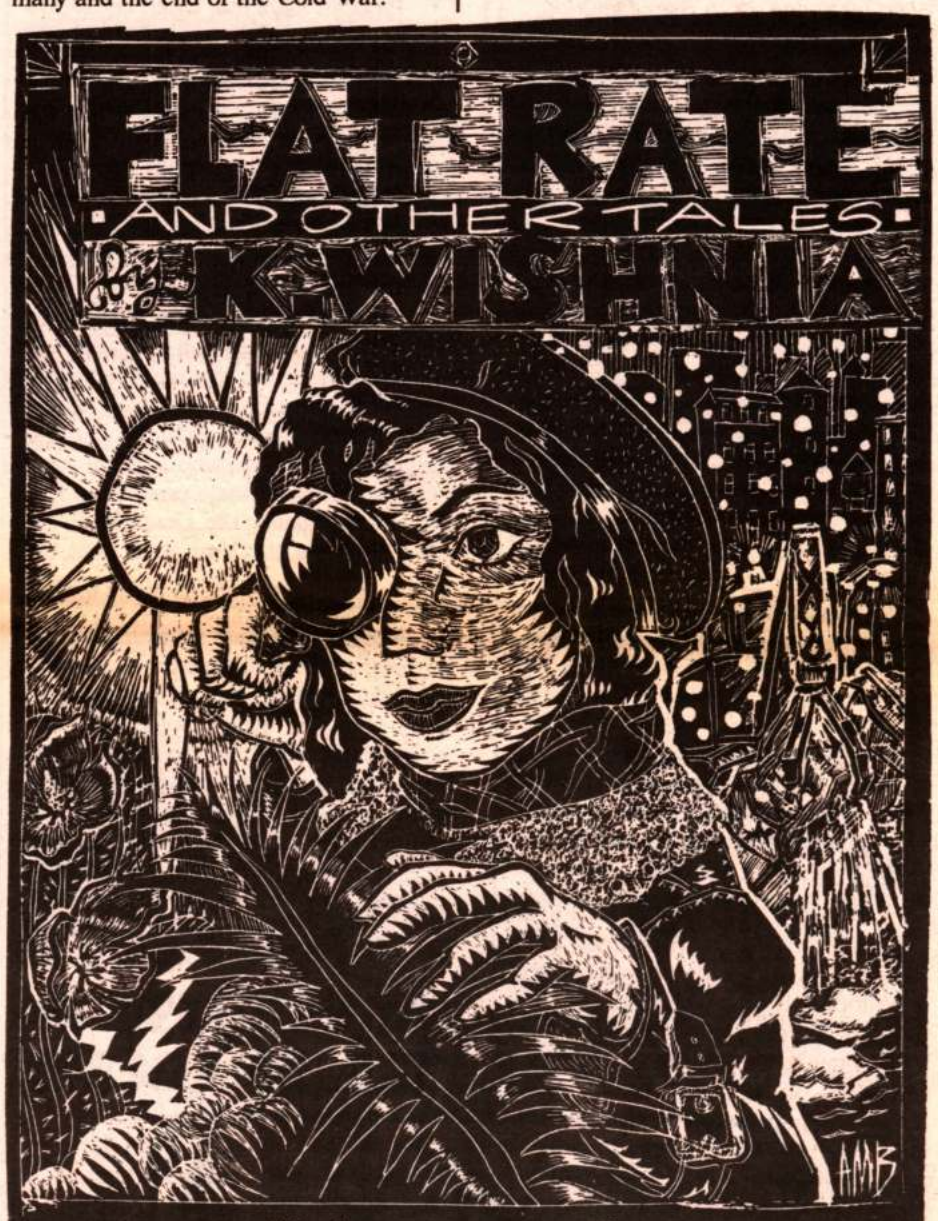
After the 1956 Egypt-Israel war, when the US decisively dumped the erstwhile anti-Communist client Nasser (who subsequently shifted to the Soviet camp), the Israeli intelligence service Mossad would also exchange high- level contacts with the Gehlen Org. This was viewed as an odious necessity of Cold War dictates by both parties ("Something of a tragedy," wrote Gehlen; "We had to do it," conceded Mossad chief Isser Harel).

Keeping the network alive through the lean years of the 1960s, when populist and anti-NATO sentiment in Germany was the domain of the left, these aging veterans had groomed their own successors by the arrival of the historical opening they had been awaiting--the geopolitical shift marked by the reuniting of Germany and the end of the Cold War.

The "mainstreaming" of fascism was evident at Ronald Reagan's 1985 VE Day memorial at the Bitburg cemetery--where he proclaimed the buried SS officers "victims." Among the restless neo-Nazi minds who felt the winds shifting and set about building a new fascist cadre were Michael Kuhnen of the National Socialist Action Front, veteran of successor organizations to Remer's banned SRP, and Bela Ewald Althans, Remer's personal protege and the mastermind of the 1992 Rostock anti-immigrant pogrom. These men made much of themselves as the chosen elite of the rightful heirs of the Third Reich.

Resurgent neo-Nazi groups radically affected the political balance with the complicity of a reunified German state whose judiciary and army were still riddled with former Nazis. Chancellor Helmut Kohl capitulated to the wave of vicious anti-immigrant violence; tilting to the hard nationalist right, out of either appeasement or shared aims or both, he

Continued On Next Page....



"Hard-to-top competition!"

- High Times

FLAT RATE A detective novella with a contemporary attitude in the classic style of the hard-boiled school. Introducing Filomena Buscarsela, a hard-working ex-NYPD cop with a fresh, distinctive voice and a caustic sense of humor, who must confront a violent taxi strike, sub-zero temperatures, volatile drug dealers and police corruption to solve a strike leader's murder.

AND OTHER TALES LEAD & LEATHER - Filomena's working vacation at a deadly beach resort in Ecuador. Plus two perplexing tales of speculative fiction that don't fit the mold: EPISTEMIC DISEASE takes you to the post-cyberpunk world of New York City's Lower East Side, where things fall apart. THE REST brings you the other side of the technological revolution, as seen by young *latina* trying to stay on-line in the Andes.

AVAILABLE AT BLACKOUT BOOKS!
50 Avenue B (3rd-4th Sts)
Only $4.95 each

The Ultimate Campaign Promise:

"All slaves freed, all debts forgiven!"

Shocking Proof That Lincoln Was a Marxist!

The poetic/political memoir of Sparrow's campaign for the '96 Republican nomination

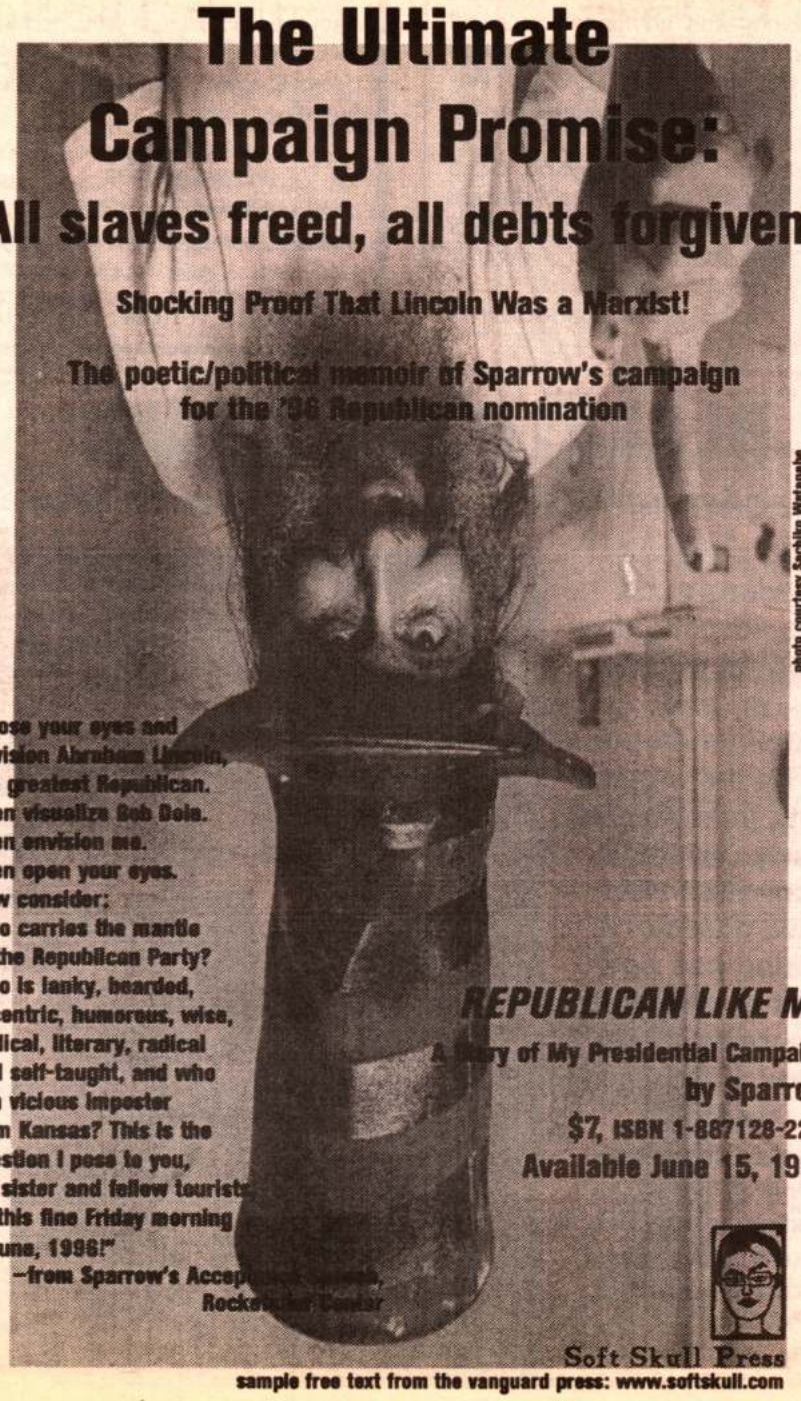


photo courtesy Sachiko Watanabe

"Close your eyes and envision Abraham Lincoln, the greatest Republican. Then visualize Bob Dole. Then envision me. Then open your eyes. Now consider: Who carries the mantle of the Republican Party? Who is lanky, bearded, eccentric, humorous, wise, Biblical, literary, radical and self-taught, and who is a vicious imposter from Kansas? This is the question I pose to you, my sister and fellow tourists on this fine Friday morning in June, 1996!"
--from Sparrow's Acceptance Speech, Rockefeller Center

REPUBLICAN LIKE ME
A Story of My Presidential Campaign
by Sparrow
$7, ISBN 1-887128-22-0
Available June 15, 1997

Soft Skull Press
sample free text from the vanguard press: www.softskull.com

BOOK REVIEWS

gutted the constitutional provisions for refugee asylum and changed the citizenship standards to more rigidly ethnic lines. Neo-Nazi thugs were recruited for the border patrol as new electronic fences went up on the eastern frontier. "Something awful was laid bare by the fall of the Berlin Wall," writes Lee. "The fascist beast had reawakened and was on the prowl again."

The new Germany openly backed revanchist groups in Silesia and the Sudeten --groups which often over-lapped with neo-Nazi organizations. Such pressure won the right of German ethnics in Poland and the Czech Republic to vote in German elections. Simultaneously, Germany backed up Croatia in blocking Serb revanchism in the post-Yugoslav wars. The Croatian armies carried out atrocities hardly less horrific than those of the rival Serbs while receiving quiet military support from Germany's arsenal in violation of a UN resolution. Neo-Nazis also recruited mercenaries for Croatia's war, which mirrored an eerily similar Balkan struggle in World War II, when fascist Croatia was a Nazi satellite. "National Socialists Fight in Croatia!" boasted a US neo-Nazi publication, *New Order,* in 1992. The US turned a blind eye to the German military meddling, hoping the Balkan war would sour relations between Germany and the resurgent Russian ultra-nationalist right--which backed Serbia but also sought a "strategic union" between Moscow and Berlin, as Vladimir Zhirinovsky put it. This also hearkens back to 1939, when such a "strategic union" put an end to the state of Poland and plunged the world into war.

Lee also traces the network across the Atlantic to the United States. In 1987, Otto Remer was the "special mystery guest" at confab held in Irvine, California, by the Holocaust-revisionist Institute for Historical Review. The IHR was an arm of Willis Carto's crypto-Nazi Liberty Lobby, whose newspaper *The Spotlight* was an important organizing tool for the militia movement. Like Russia, the America of Nazi dreams is holding the line for Aryan civilization against the swarthy hordes.

Lee understands the deep populist current in fascism which is so often overlooked by Leftists who throw the word around like a manhole cover. "Within the fascist milieu," he writes, "there has always been a nostalgia for pre-industrial societies and an attraction to advanced technology, a pathos for uncontrolled brutality and a fetish for obedience and order. Promising to remedy the malaise and anomie of modern society, fascist leaders manipulated deep-seated longings for a better world."

The internal tension between fascism's populist and elitist currents, its revolutionary and reactionary tendencies, forms a paradoxical unity. Fascism, especially during its rise to power, plays to popular resentment *against* elite power, but gets the analysis dead wrong, scapegoating ethnic demographics and the Left, which are finally tools of malevolent but conveniently always-hidden elites (e.g. those notorious Jewish bankers), who can presumably only be removed by a ruthless counter-elite. Those militant populists who hedge on this embrace of elitism either finally capitulate--as the post-anarchist Mussolini did when he cut his deal with Italian capital and the monarchy in 1922--or end up on the wrong end of a long knife--as the populist Nazis Ernst Rohm and Otto Strasser did in Hitler's bloody purge of the Brownshirts in 1934.

Ultimately fascism proves a device by which the *real* elites can ride out the storms of their own making--channeling the backlash against economic dislocations into a recuperable form. The Krupps and Farbens, who profited from Nazi slave labor, remain powerhouses of the new Germany. The Deutsche Bank, which financed the Nazi state, is at the center of the new European economic super-power.

With the political spectrum rapidly narrowing into a discourse between the corporate right and the populist right, we can't afford to hedge. Sometimes Lee comes dangerously close to doing so. Lee writes that the militia movement's angry white cannon fodder "concluded, not without some justification, that the political process was stacked in favor of a powerful few, who acted against the interests of ordinary folks. Although this belief had a rational basis, militia members mistakenly attributed their plight to farfetched, all-encompassing conspiracies." Does conceding "some" justification go far enough? Minimizing the fears of "ordinary folks" will only drive them deeper into the conspiratoid xenophobe camp.

Fortunately, Lee ultimately shows his hand: "A vibrant democratic culture is not conducive to the growth of fascism. But unchecked corporate power has, to a significant degree, stultified the democratic process and fascist groups in Europe and the United States feed on this malaise." Furthermore, the incipient deal between elite power and nativist scapegoating, which defines fascism in its classical form, can already be seen on the American political landscape.

The supposedly respectable research of *The Bell Curve,* the 1994 bestseller arguing for the innate cognitive inferiority of blacks, was footnoted to racist pseudo-scholars published by the Liberty Lobby. But the book made great propaganda for the great tilt of government funds from social programs to prisons and police. As post-KKK Republican David Duke said about Newt Gingrich's Contract on America, "Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery."

Incipient fascism in the US is still in its early, slippery ultra-populist phase, and is therefore sometimes hard to recognize. In the paradoxical anti-fascist rhetoric of the militia movement, ATF agents are "jack-booted thugs." McVeigh railed against the federal "fascist tyrants." Yet his actions were likely part of a neo-Nazi plot. In 1988, a group of men linked to the Klan and Aryan Nations were charged (and ultimately acquitted) in a conspiracy to overthrow the US government--a plot which was to have begun with the explosion of the Oklahoma City federal building. After the Randy Weaver affair in Idaho in 1992, one of these men, Aryan Nations Ambassador-at-Large Louis Beam, promulgated the doctrine of "leaderless resistance" at a radical right conclave known as the Rocky Mountain Rendezvous--with no formal command structure, self-organized cells and militias would pick up the ball. McVeigh likely picked up the ball from Beam and his co-conspirators.

During the Weaver stand-off, Beam formed a group to support the besieged white separatist with a sometime visitor to the Aryan Nations' Idaho compound, John Trochman. Trochman would shortly go on to found the seminal Militia of Montana (MOM).

The March 1995 edition of the MOM newsletter *Taking Aim* issued a call to arms for April 19--the day that the Oklahoma City federal building would indeed be blown to bits. Just as November 9 has assumed an almost mystical significance in the German mind--the date of the 1918 armistice that ended WWI on humiliating terms--as well as Hitler's 1923 Beer Hall Putsch, the 1938 Kristallnacht pogrom, the 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall--April 19 seems to be approaching a similar status in the American psyche. The MOM manifesto invoked (of course) the 1993 Waco massacre, as well as the 1775 Battle of Lexington and the 1943 burning of the Warsaw ghetto. This last invocation can be read a number of ways.

The ghetto was burned to crush a Jewish uprising launched as a desperate last stand against deportation to the death camps. Deportation was escalating because the Nazi administrators of Warsaw wanted the city to be *judenrein*--Jew free--as a birthday present to the Fuehrer. With the burning of the ghetto and extermination of the last resis-tance fighters, it was. Adolf Hitler's birthday is April 20, and is annually celebrated by neo-Nazis from Berlin to Idaho.

Fascism, Lee quotes Kremlinologist Walter Laqueur, "resembles pornography in that it is difficult--perhaps impossible--to define in an operational, legally valid way, but those with experience know it when they see it." Hopefully, keening our political sights with the aid of works such as Lee's can spare us all yet more such "experience."

If you were reading FUNNY PAGES, this would be a different finger!

Want the latest sick jokes? Check us out **FREE!** Just send a SASE & we'll rush you a sample issue. Or send $15 for 12 disgusting issues.

Funny Pages
PO Box 317025
Dayton, OH 45437

Oh, Joe Bob Briggs says: "Funny Pages is guaranteed to gross out your sister."

Send for it now, Dammit!

ADVERTISE IN THE SHADOW!!

Make A Zine! by Bill Brent

192 PAGES! PACKED!

Finally, a nuts-and-bolts guide on how to produce a zine. No matter how humble or ambitious your project, our book **will** save you time and money.

Not a survey of zines that's outdated before you even read it, not some slick rip-off out to cash in on the latest underground fad, but a useful resource chock-full of good ideas and tips you will refer to again and again. From the guys at Black Books (our zines are **Black Sheets** and **Porno Pen**). *"It's good to see a book on zines produced like a zine, i.e., completely self-published."*

—SETH FRIEDMAN

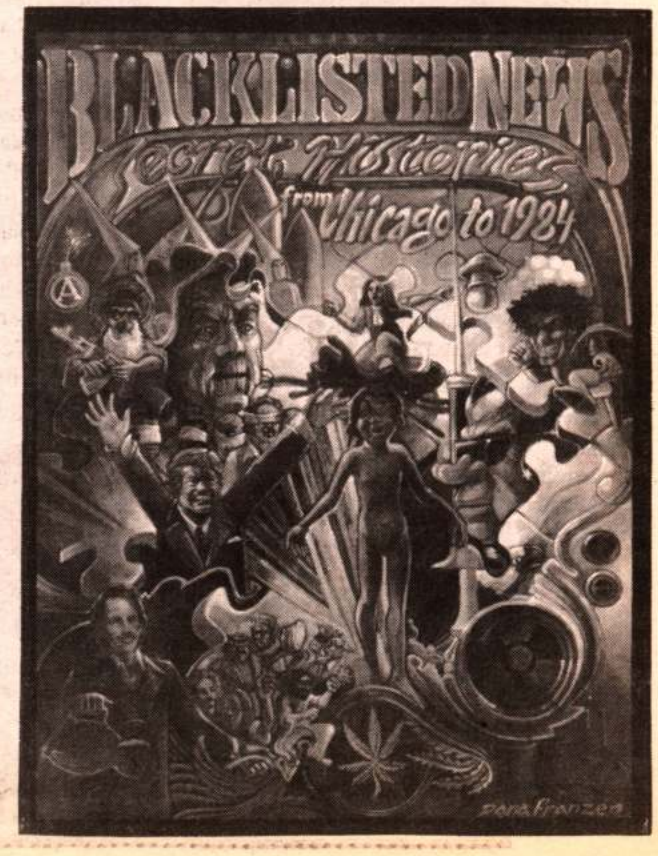
Send $12 (includes postage/handling) to: Black Books, PO Box 31155-Z, San Francisco CA 94131. For fastest service (stores, too), call (800) 818-8823 and place your order. We take Visa, MC, Discover, and AmEx. Or fax your order with card info to (415) 431-0172. Sorry, no CODs. California residents, add 85¢ sales tax.

BLACK BOOKS

BLACKLISTED NEWS:

SECRET HISTORIES FROM CHICAGO TO 1984

735 pages of underground news, investigative reports, photos, art and propaganda put out by the original Youth International Party (YIPPIES) from 1967-1984. This collector's edition has been out of print for more than ten years and cannot be found anywhere else!! Only $15 + $3.25 postage + handling. Order yours from: SHADOW PRESS, P.O.BOX 20298, New York, NY 10009



WBIS+....

for the people losing out and if they were going to hire any of the people getting booted out of jobs at WNYC. The ideas were new to them and they sheepishly twitched their heads negative. I told them they would probably have to deal with protests and angry mobs but they didn't seem to care.

Classic Sports was surprisingly a runaway success. New Yorkers lounging around the house all day loved it. Where else could you see Muhammed Ali beat the hell out George Foreman for free? Where else could you see the 1969 Mets win the series. It was fantastic for a while but after nine months WBIS+ Business Information Sports was finally ready. 250 people had been hired from across the country and Europe; the equipment was ready and ITT had settled on going business-heavy while keeping the MSG sports network going on a separate channel. High profile home games with the Knicks and Rangers were still to be shown by MSG on cable while less popular Islander, Devils and Nets games were shown for free on WBIS+ with the Knicks making an occasional appearance.

During the day WBIS+ filled the airwaves with business chat shows like The Morning Show, Money Style and Power, and the Business of Sports. Complementing a relaxed living room format for the longer shows with a formal news desk for inserts, WBIS painfully chugged out information that yuppies might show a passing interest in. Money management, apartment organizing, fashion, celebrity and popular news spiked with live stock exchange reports and sports updates were to keep aspiring entrepreneurs informed, prepared to do business, and abreast of the latest news and scores--all they had to do was stop working and turn on the tv in the middle of the day. Despite millions in new sets and hires, an ambitious programming schedule and newly imported "talent", WBIS+ never reached the level of success that the low budget Classic Sports did.

Carolyn Wall took over the reigns at WBIS+ before the big launch. At a press conference announcing the adventure, Wall was grilled by reporters about the station's intended target audience. She referred to the growing number of business women working out of home offices. A reporter reasoned that these women would probably be too busy to watch television on weekdays. Wall optimistically pointed out that the number of television sets in restaurants was on the rise.

WBIS+ set out on an advertising blitz across the city using the drabbest logos and colors known to man. Pale yellows and matte reds combined to create a blocky, uninspiring mush of unremarkable color schemes with the station's slogan "Money, Sports and, oh yeah, Life" printed underneath. A fifty yard banner hung above the commuter ticket booth at Grand Central Station featuring Patrick Ewing and an executive woman leaping to unknown success. "Whether you manage a home, or a home team, WBIS+," ran one ad picturing a harried housewife juxtaposed with a frantic looking basketball coach hard at work.

Two weeks into WBIS' unnoticed beginning ITT wisely pulled out, leaving Dow Jones to foot the bill for the station's operating costs. Frantic and losing money rapidly, Dow Jones persevered for another four months until they, too, pulled the plug on their tv misadventure. The 250 new hires were unceremoniously dumped.

One staffer who was axed lamented off the record at how mismanagement and incompetence turned Dow Jones into "three time losers...They lost with FNN, they lost with DJIN and now they've lost again. They're demonstrating that they don't know what they're doing in the corporate world. 250 people got fired. They could have had CNBC but they blew it. I thought it would last a little longer. They've taken all the talent, who were mediocre at best and retained them because they're scared of real television people who would do a good job. Two weeks after we launched, Hilton mounted a hostile takeover bid for ITT so ITT, who had real experience in broadcasting sold off all their non-core assets and Dow Jones was left without a partner. They got scared and panicked."

WBIS+'s final hour was a sorry affair. After the fat techie synched the Garden Diner across the street from Dow Jones headquarters played host to WBIS' final soiree'. Soured former employees drowned their sorrows with bitter gusto. "People would act surprised when I finished up a good read and say, 'that was really good, Betsy' like they were surprised." Lamented one former anchor to her superiors. "There was no reason for them to be surprised. I am talented. I was one of the only real journalists there! I'll take a margarita and a glass of water."

"They wanted controversial!" blurted another ex-employee. "We gave them controversial. Colin Powell was controversial!" The lady's proclamations were met with heads that seemed to nod and shake simultaneously. How could something be controversial when no one is watching? I asked an operations pawn whether the Nielsens ever provided any encouraging news. "Well, all we ever got was hashmarks but you got to expect that until it catches on."

All in all 250 employees were fired. Many had left good jobs with other stations in cities and towns across the US and Europe. Originally Dow Jones wanted to give the freelance workers a measly one week's severance package despite the fact that they worked forty hours per week. The shop steward read them the laws regarding permalancers and they had to balk and give their workers full pay until mid-September and health benefits until March. The shop steward proudly reported to the *SHADOW* that, "I read them the laws and beat them at their own greedy and white rich game."

As for now, Dow Jones is still churning out Asia and European Business News as well as the Wall Street Journal Report but from far more elaborate studios. "The place looks like a ghost town." One techie told me who still works there on Fridays when the Report is taped. "All this equipment and stuff and nothing to do with it." Perhaps Dow Jones will someday recoup its losses or attempt another broadcasting whim.

ANDEAN DRUG WAR....

However, in 1996, believing the guerilla threat to have passed and eager to get back in Uncle Sam's good graces, Fujimori resumed the eradication program. While the US never decertified Peru or disavowed Fujimori, relations with Washington deteriorated during the state of emergency. In a still-mysterious incident in 1992, the Peruvian Air Force even fired on a US military transport plane.

National police have now resumed manual eradication in the Upper Huallaga, while Fujimori still stands up to Washington on aerial spraying.

Fujimori also pulled the military out of narcotics enforcement by presidential decree, and is now coming under US pressure to backslide here as well. Washington wants the Peruvian Navy and Air Force to get involved in interception of coca paste along the Huallaga and other rivers that flow north towards Colombia--despite the fact that many of the Huallaga-to-Colombia coca paste flights are by former Peruvian military pilots.

Ironically, the mastermind of Peru's "dirty war" is Fujimori's intelligence advisor Vladimiro Montesinos, who portrays the Shining Path as a "narcoterrorist" organization. Montesinos has been named by top cocaine defendants in Peru as their paid protector in the government. Just as Fujimori resumed the eradication program last June, one of his six military aides, Commander Luis Escarcena, was arrested on cocaine smuggling charges, and it was announced that over 200 police were being dismissed for protecting narcotics and weapons trafficking.

Harsh penalties remain in place for personal possession of all drugs, and prison conditions are notoriously abysmal. While civilian rule has largely been restored, special anti-terrorist courts remain under the control of the military. This was a key issue in the recent hostage siege at the Japanese Embassy in Lima by the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Army (MRTA), a small rival of the Shining Path. Fujimori's bloody assault on the MRTA guerillas in April was carried out with covert US support--a signal of stepped-up cooperation.

Quite predictably, the Shining Path have been making a comeback since the eradication program was restored, launching their biggest attacks in years.

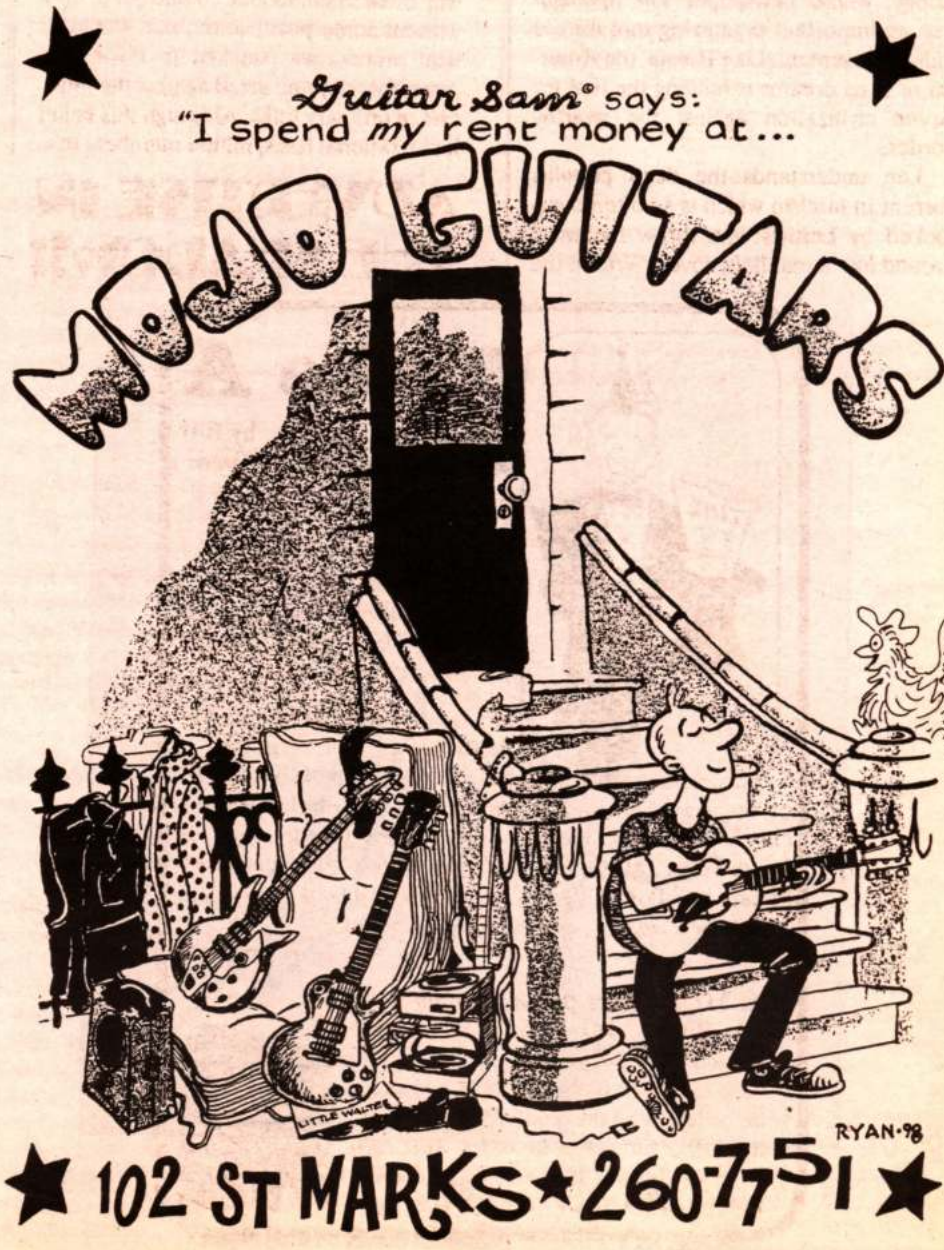
BOLIVIA: RESISTANCE GROWING

Bolivia produces the Andes' highest quality leaf--the high alkaloid level of the Bolivian coca means less leaf is needed to make potent cocaine. The Peruvian leaf is somewhat lower quality, and the Colombian lower still. Once again, coca is the only crop to have brought any relief to Bolivia's long-suffering *campesinos*.

Bolivia has been chasing coca paste producers with US military aid for over ten years, but since it launched a coca crop eradication program--at US behest, of course--peasant unrest has spread throughout the coca-growing regions. In some areas, levels of chaos are now approaching those of Colombia and Peru.

In 1989, Bolivia passed Law 1008, the Cocaine & Controlled Substances Law, instating an eradication program and imposing penalties for possession of all drugs listed under the UN's Single Convention. Despite US pressure for aerial spraying, the law allows only manual eradication. Cultivation is not affected in the deepest zone of traditional coca use, the Yungas region outside the capital, La Paz. A "transitional zone" was established in Chapare, on the edge of the Amazon, where coca

Continued On Page 22



CONTRA COKE CONNECTION....

undergoing flight training, the pilots were to continue to work for the FRS, but would also fly narcotics shipments from South America to sites in Costa Rica and Nicaragua for later transport to the United States."

By the summer of Boland II, the contra-cocaine connection was completely out of hand:

"The problem of drug traffickers using the airstrips also used to supply the Contras persisted through 1985 and 1986. By the summer of 1986, it became of significant concern to the U.S. Government officials who were involved in the covert Contra supply operations undertaken during the Boland Amendment period. As then-CIA Station Chief, "Thomas Castillo" testified to the Iran/Contra Committees, U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica Lewis Tambs wanted to place guards on the secret Contra supply airstrip at Santa Elena in Costa Rica, to avoid "having drug traffickers use that site, and this was a continuing concern during the period of June, July and August."

And then there's Lt.Col Oliver North's eloquent National Security Council notation of July 12, 1985:

"$14 million to finance came from drugs."

And yet, with such high-level contra-cocaine contacts and communications, the American public is expected to believe there was no high-level knowledge or approval of collusion between the contras, intelligence agencies, and the drug dealers who made the Boland-era cocaine glut possible!

More Empirical Evidence of the Contra-Cocaine Connection

The direct correlation between the Boland-era cocaine glut and the Reagan/Bush administration's "hell bent for counterrevolution" policy in Nicaragua is by no means confined to one study, as cited above.

If Boland II (1984-1985) had an obvious correlation to the ensuing cocaine glut of clandestine contra fund-raising deals with drug lords, shouldn't there be similar evidence for Boland I (1983-1984), when military aid was also cut off?

Indeed there is. . .

The first Boland Amendment, enacted in December 1982, denied direct military support to the contras. The second Boland Amendment, enacted in October 1984, specifically forbade the CIA and DOD from "directly or indirectly" supporting the contras, and remained in force throughout December, 1985.

The chart below shows the national incidence of reported cocaine use in the past thirty days, by age, during the years 1979-1994. The source is the ongoing "National Household Survey on Drug Abuse," conducted by the National Institute on Drug Abuse.

The graph indicates cocaine exposure among two age groups: Ages 18-25 (upper curve), and ages 26-34 (lower). The dashed line is a third-degree polynomial trendline associated with cocaine use among those aged 18-25. This trendline suggests that youth exposure to cocaine had been on an overall decline, consistent with other national studies, until there was a marked increase in approximately 1982-83.

The "cocaine binge" of the 18-25 year old population did not re-approach the national norm until sometime after 1986. Similarly, the 26-34 year old population endured a "cocaine glut" of its own, doubling in exposure between 1982 and 1985.

These anomalies may be attributed to the increased availability--and profitability--of cocaine which occurred during the 1983-85 Boland era, in an improbable deviation from a longer-term declining trend in cocaine use.

The most salient "proximate cause" for these cocaine-glut anomalies is the international policy and enforcement shift which took place from 1982-85, precisely during The Boland Amendments, when officials of the NSC and CIA entered into a tactical partnership with drug-dealing "contra" contributors after Congress denied millions of dollars in direct aid.

Men In Black, or Men In Crack?

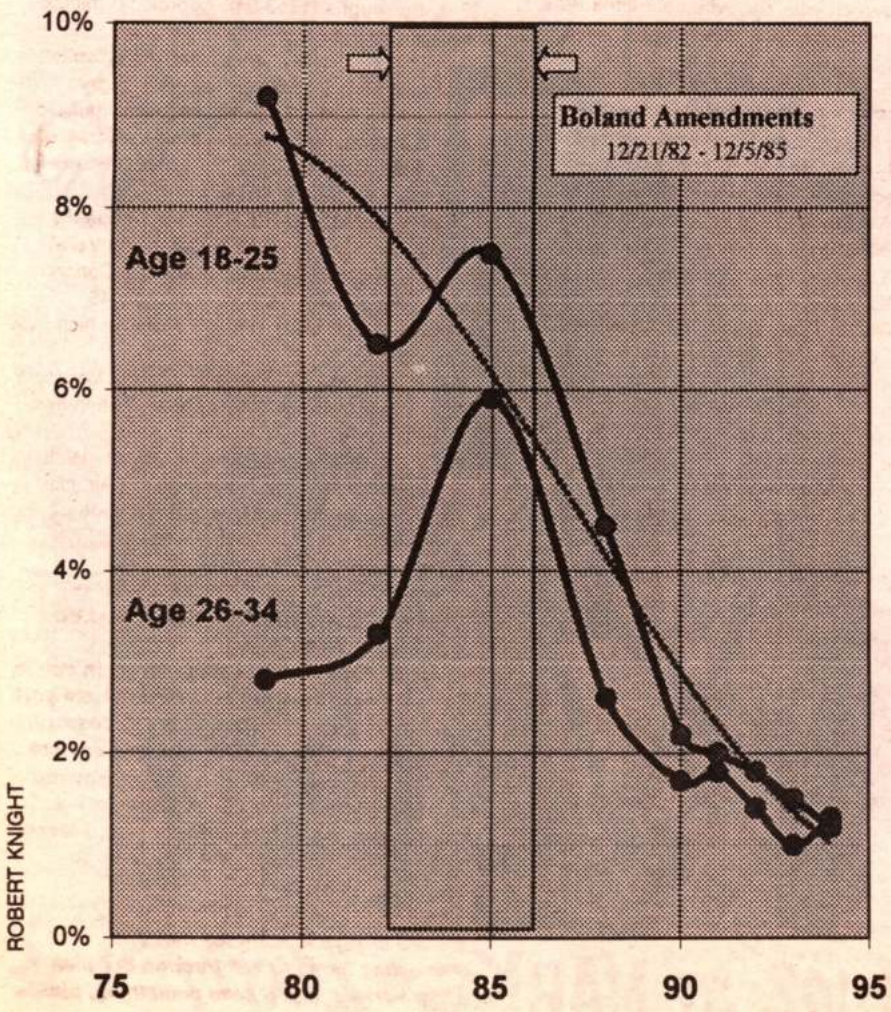
The Company's "Men in Black" have been quite effective in selectively erasing certain memories of the CIA-contra-cocaine war. But, as we have shown, physical evidence of the encounter nevertheless remains. It remains in the government's own measures of the contra-cocaine glut of the mid-1980s. It remains in the form of devastated black communities and a lost generation of crack abuse. The widely available contra-period cocaine has touched white communities as well, which consumed the largest amount of cocaine, even though discriminatory sentencing has filled the jails with black youth.

The epidemiological analysis of the CIA-contra-crack-cocaine epidemic presented here has many implications to be followed up in future reports. For instance, the "aging" of the crack generation has resulted in a predictable drop in national crime statistics, as its members grew beyond the ages most likely to commit violent crimes. And yet--POOF!--law'n'order types like Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and others attempt to claim momentary credit for historical demographic shifts.

Despite the media-based memory-erasing devices employed by our own "Men in Black," suppressed memories of so great a clandestine crime spree as the CIA-contra-cocaine connection cannot forever remain suppressed. And when we awake, we will remember everything!

Robert Knight is the host of "Earthwatch: Transterrestrial Radio" heard Wednesdays at midnight on WBAI Radio 99.5-FM in New York City.

Reported Cocaine Use by Age (1979-94)



Source: NIDA / National Household Survey on Drug Abuse

ANDEAN DRUG WAR....

was to be phased out with compensation to the *cocaleros* over a five year period. Coca was to be eradicated without compensation in all other regions--principally Cochabamba province, another region on the edge of the jungle. Chapare and Cochabamba comprise the principal coca export crop zone. This is where the government ran into trouble.

Banding together to protect their crops, desperate *campesinos* formed organizations like the Andean Council of Coca Producers (CAPC) to advocate legalization of the traditional leaf. Tensions only escalated as the government arrested CAPC leaders and imposed states of emergency in the eradication zones, Colombia-style.

In February, *campesinos* clashed with troops of the Rural Patrol Mobile Unit (UMOPAR) in Chapare, leading to seven arrests. Charging that authorities cut all communications in the region to hide UMOPAR human rights abuses, campesinos started blocking roads and forming "defense committees" to resist the eradication troops.

At an April 8 blockade, CAPC leader Evo Morales, who had recently travelled to Europe to develop legal markets for coca leaf (in teas and other products), was attacked by UMOPAR troops, beaten, slashed with a machete and shot in the leg with rubber bullets. The troops then dragged him away by his hair, semi-conscious, and staged a photo of him holding explosives, according to witnesses.

A week later, UMOPAR troops with helicopters, backed up by a DEA force, attacked another *cocalero* blockade, arresting 100, wounding 24, and killing four. Autopsies revealed that the four had been shot in the back from the air.

In the aftermath of the attacks, some 2,000 *campesinos* armed with machetes mobilized for self-defense. With the region on the brink of explosion, a meeting was set up between Evo Morales and Defense Minister Alfonso Kreidler, but no immediate solution was reached.

The degree of Yankee power over this poorest of Andean nations was amply demonstrated when Bolivian President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada, with vast areas of his country poised at the brink of chaos, told a reporter ("off the record," of course) that he would decriminalize drugs--if only he could spare himself the "controversy"!

GROPING TOWARDS AN ALTERNATIVE

The somewhat embarrassing Latin American Cities Against Drugs conference was held in Sao Paulo, Brazil--where the national Senate is now considering a bill that would decriminalize personal quantities of all drugs, overturning the minimum prison terms now in effect. Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso has called for a national debate on decriminalization.

Cocaine availability has soared in Brazil since traffickers started using the rivers of the Brazilian Amazon to transport their paste from Bolivia and Peru to Colombia. The Brazilian government has undertaken a $1.5 billion satellite-aided Amazon Vigilance System (SIVAM) to monitor the traffic through the vast rain forest. The SIVAM project, built by the US defense contractor Raytheon, has been mired in scandal. Two years ago, the Brazilian Air Force Minister, Brig. Gen. Mauro Gandra, was forced to resign after police released a tape of a Raytheon representative and a Cardoso presidential aide discussing bribes to Senators to grease approval of the project. The SIVAM scandal was yet more egg on the faces of Drug Warriors in the Brazilian military and US State Department.

The Sao Paulo conference was viewed as strategic by the Drug Warriors. It was to have launched a network of South American cities conceived as a counterpart to the hard-line American Cities Against Drugs (ACAD), which periodically brings together US mayors and police chiefs to coordinate anti-drug strategies. ACAD, in turn, is affiliated with European Cities Against Drugs, which backs the pro-enforcement Stockholm Resolution.

The Stockholm Resolution was devised to oppose the 1993 Frankfurt Resolution, which founded a network of European cities breaking with the hard-line consensus and officially exploring policy alternatives. The Latin cities network was devised by the US State Department to head off the spread of this contagion of Drug War dissent to South America.

But the ploy may not work. Despite fierce backlash in the press, Medellin is pressing on with its October conference on drug policy alternatives. And next Spring, the International Harm Reduction Conference (previously in such European cities as Liverpool, Barcelona, Rotterdam and Paris) will be held in Latin America for the first time--in Sao Paulo. Throughout the continent, politicians, *cocaleros,* guerillas and drug lords will be watching closely to see if more Andean leaders publicly break ranks with Washington's War on Drugs.

SHADOW MAIL ORDER

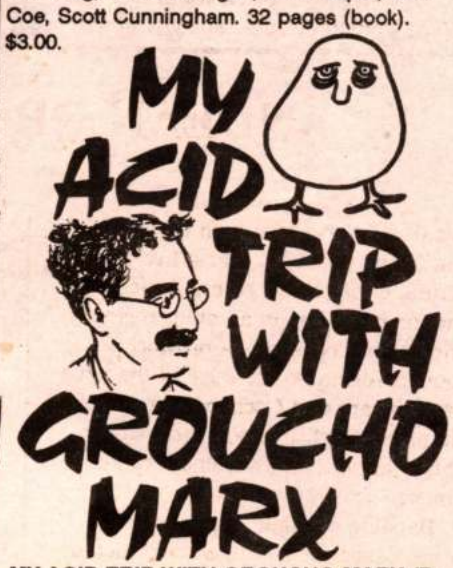
AVAILABLE FROM SHADOW PRESS:

THE SHADOW: New York's only underground newspaper. List of back issues available for self-addressed stamped envelope or 2 stamps. $1.00 per issue.
SQUATTER COMICS #1: Comics and art by SHADOW artists. 16 pages. $2.00.
SQUATTER COMICS #2: 48 pgs. $2.75.
GEORGE BUSH: THE SUPER-SPY DRUG-SMUGGLING PRESIDENT (By Bill Weinberg): Everything you've wanted to know about George Bush, past and present. 80 pages (book). $5.00.

FROM OTHER SOURCES:

THE STRANGE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY (By Jack Straw): Tells it all. 4 pages (zerox). $1.00 + 1 stamp.
MARIJUANA'S SECRET HISTORY: THE CONSPIRACY BEHIND OUTLAWING HEMP: Why is pot illegal? Details how Dupont and the Mellon bank used Hearst Publications, the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and the federal government to demonize marijuana in order to protect their investment in a highly polluting paper making process that continues today. 4 pages (zerox). $1.00 + 1 stamp.
SPATIAL DECONCENTRATION (From World War III Illustrated): Explains how the gov't. planned and destabilized neighborhoods from the 1960s on, resulting in soaring land values and homelessness. Researched by Yolanda Ward, who was assassinated after stealing gov't files for this project. 12 pages (zerox). **(From Yolanda Ward Memorial Fund):** Article on Spatial Deconcentration in Washington, DC. 4 pages (zerox). 16 pages total. $2.00 + 1 stamp.
DISORDER CONTROL GUIDELINES: A secret guide "acquired" from the New York City Police Dept. reveals objectives and diagrams, formations, crowd dispersal, wedge formations, arrest tactics and levels of mobilization in the event of civil unrest (that's riot for the rest of us!!) 12 pages (zerox). $2.00 + 1 stamp.

URBAN RIOTS + OPERATION GARDEN PLOT: The US Military Plan For Domestic "Civil Disturbance" (By Frank Morales): A well-researched paper citing just-released documents on the US govt's counter-insurgency plan to use the Army to round up political dissidents in detention camps in case of a "National Emergency." 16 pages (zerox). $3.00.
AN ANIMAL LIBERATION PRIMER: Very serious direct action and how-to manual put out by Animal Liberation Front. 32 pages (book). $3.00.
THE COMPLETE MANUAL OF PIRATE RADIO (By Zeke Teflon): Everything you need to know, includes schematics and sources. 24 pages (book). $3.00.
COLLATERAL DAMAGE: A collaborative anti-war poetry and art project including Allen Ginsberg, Daniel Berrigan, Peter Kuper, Sue Coe, Scott Cunningham. 32 pages (book). $3.00.



MY ACID TRIP WITH GROUCHO MARX (By Paul Krassner): Realist publisher Krassner's LSD experiences with Tim Leary, Charles Manson's followers, Otto Preminger, Lenny Bruce, Ram Dass, Jerry Rubin, and his trip with Groucho. 24 pages (book). $3.00.
WORLD WAR III ILLUSTRATED (Issue #24): WW3 Goes To Jail! Art and tales of jail life by prisoners, including Mumia Abu-Jamal, as well as WW3 regulars Scott Cunningham, Angela Bocage, Eric Drooker, Seth Tobocman, Sandy Jiminez, Sue Coe, Mac McGill, and others. 96 pages (comic book). $3.50.

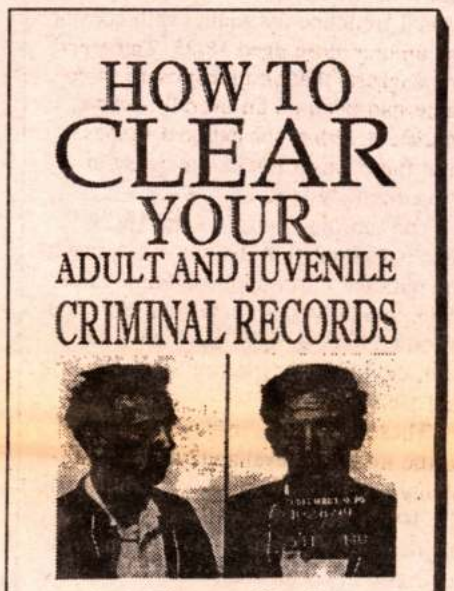
SURVIVAL WITHOUT RENT: Put together by long time NYC squatters; gives step by step in finding and fixing up a squat build-ing. Written for the NYC squat scene, it can be useful to squatters in other cities. 31 pages (zerox book). $4.00.
BLACKLISTED NEWS: SECRET HISTORIES FROM CHICAGO TO 1984: A compilation of underground news, stories, flyers, photos, art and more published by the Youth International Party (Yippies) from 1967-1984. Obtained through a special purchase, this book is out of print and cannot be found any- where else!! 735 pages (book). A real steal at $15.00 + $3.25 postage.

****

FROM LOOMPANICS UNLIMITED:

THE ART AND SCIENCE OF BILLBOARD IMPROVEMENT: Detailed methods for alterations from smaller, easily accessible boards to the massive, more difficult ones on freeways. 12 pages (book). $1.50 + $1.00 postage.

HOW TO USE THE FEDERAL FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT + THE PRIVACY ACT OF 1974: A citizen's step by step guide to using these acts of congress to request government records, includes sample letters, forms, addresses and telephone numbers. 62 pages (book). $9.95 + $2.00 postage.
STEAL THIS BOOK (By Abbie Hoffman): Topics covered include: free food, clothing, furniture, housing, education, money, dope, guerilla broadcasting, underground newspapers, riots and demos, trashing, bombs, shoplifting, credit card rip-offs, fake ID, and more. 320 pages (book). $9.95 + $2.50.
HOW YOU CAN MANIPULATE THE MEDIA: Guerilla methods to get your story covered by TV, radio, and newspapers. 112 pages (book). $12.00 + $2.50 postage.
HOW TO CLEAR YOUR ADULT AND JUVENILE CRIMINAL RECORDS: Written by a career criminal who successfully removed felonies and misdemeanors from his rap sheet; gives detailed steps on how you can clear yours, including legal language, statutes and laws that you can use. A must have for people with criminal records as well those whose records contain inaccuracies that can hurt you in the future. 102 pages (book). $12.95 + $2.50 postage.



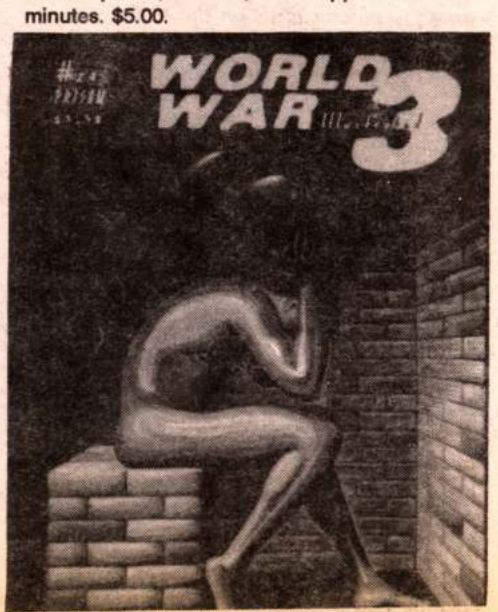
YOU AND THE POLICE: Defending your rights when dealing with the police. Includes: how to talk your way out of a ticket, three kinds of confrontations with police, you don't have to ID yourself unless arrested, what to say if cops want to search your car, why your car's trunk is so important, how to handle being rousted, what behavior to avoid, and much more. 125 pages (book). $14.95 + $2.50 postage.
BULLETPROOF PRIVACY: How To Live Hidden, Happy, and Free! How to travel discretely, relocate and disappear, make encrypted phone calls, become invisible to databanks, buy and sell without a trace, not leave a paper trail, and more. 160 pages (book). $15.95 + $2.50 postage.
THE POLITICS OF HEROIN: CIA Complicity In The Global Drug Trade (By Alfred McCoy): Proves CIA and diplomatic involvement in the opium and heroin trade, as an integral part of the agency's efforts to maintain US power abroad. 654 pages (book). $19.95 + $3.25 postage.

****

AUDIO CASSETTES:

ASSASSINATION OF JFK: CBS news coverage, reports and interviews immediately following the assassination of President John F. Kennedy on Nov. 22, 1963. Two tapes, approx. 2 hours total. $10.00 total.
RUSH TO JUDGEMENT: Hear the living testimony by actual witnesses to the JFK assassination, ignored by the Warren Commission, as interviewed by attorney Mark Lane. Approx. 45 minutes. $5.00.
UFOs, JFK + THE NEW WORLD ORDER: Seminar by ex-Naval Intelligence officer Bill Cooper, Oct. 19, 1990, on gov't. conspiracies and their attack on him. Some say Cooper is a crack-pot, others say he is a gov't. agent spreading disin-formation, but you should decide for yourself. Very heavy stuff!! Approx. 90 minutes. $5.00.

WAKE UP AMERICA: Abbie Hoffman on laughing gas, fielding calls on radio shows, giving speeches, and ranting. Approx. 50 minutes. $5.00.
WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING CONSPIRACY: Two telephone conversations between FBI informant Edam Salem and Special Agents John Anticev + Nancy Floyd reveal that the FBI was in on the conspiracy and bombing of the World Trade Center on February 26, 1993. Approx. 30 minutes total. $5.00.
LSD: Timothy Leary, tripping on acid, calmly explains the benefits of LSD and the persecution against him, as cops stand by outside his home!! Approx. 30 minutes. $5.00.
ELECTRIC KOOL-AID ACID TEST: Actual acid test and trip festival at San Francisco State College, Oct. 1-2, 1966, less than a week before LSD became illegal!! With Ken Kesey, Wavy Gravy, Jerry Garcia. Approx. 45 minutes. $5.00.
MALCOLM X SPEAKS: Fire + Fury Grass Roots Speech, Nov. 10, 1963. Approx. 40 minutes. $5.00.



MALCOLM X SPEAKS AGAIN: Violence + non-violence, the ballot or the bullet, + other topics. Approx. 45 minutes. $5.00.
SLAUGHTERHOUSE FIVE: Author Kurt Vonnegut, Jr. reads aloud his famous book. Approx. 90 minutes. $5.00.
THE BATTLE OF TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK: SHADOW reporter and WBAI radio journalist Paul DeRienzo gives battlefield report in the middle of the Tompkins Square Riot of Aug.6-7, 1988. Approx. 45 minutes. $5.00.
JACK KEROUAC + NEAL CASSADY: Both read from Kerouac's "Old Angel Midnight" + "Dr. Sax" (1961), "Vanity of Duluoz" (1967-68). Also readings and dis-cussions on Proust, Dr. Sax, Burroughs (1953-54). Approx. 90 minutes. $5.00.
BOB DYLAN vs A.J. WEBERMAN: Telephone discussion on Dylanology includes angry outburst by Dylan when he discovers garbologist Weberman is recording their conversation. Also with music by David Peel and Grace Slick. Approx. 60 minutes. $5.00.
LENNY BRUCE RARIETIES: Four separate tapes: "To is a Preposition, Come is a Verb" "Thank You, Masked Man" "Berkeley Concert 1966" "American". Each tape approx. 45 minutes. $5.00 each. (Please specify which tape you want.)
GROUCHO MARX: Live in concert at Carnegie Hall in New York in 1972. Approx. 60 minutes. $5.00.
WAR OF THE WORLDS: Live Oct. 31, 1938 recording of Mercury Theatre on the Air with Orson Welles that resulted in nationwide panic over invasion from Mars. Approx. 60 minutes. $5.00.

****

ORDER FROM: SHADOW PRESS, P.O.BOX 20298, NY NY 10009
Please include $1.00 postage for each comic, book or cassette. If zeroxes ordered are part of a larger order, no stamps are necessary. All orders paid by cash or money order are sent by first class mail as soon as they are received. Payment by check requires 1-2 week clearance before order is sent. Please make check or money order payable to "SHADOW Press."

****

We are always looking for new and interesting items to sell through our mail order service. If you have something, please turn us on!!

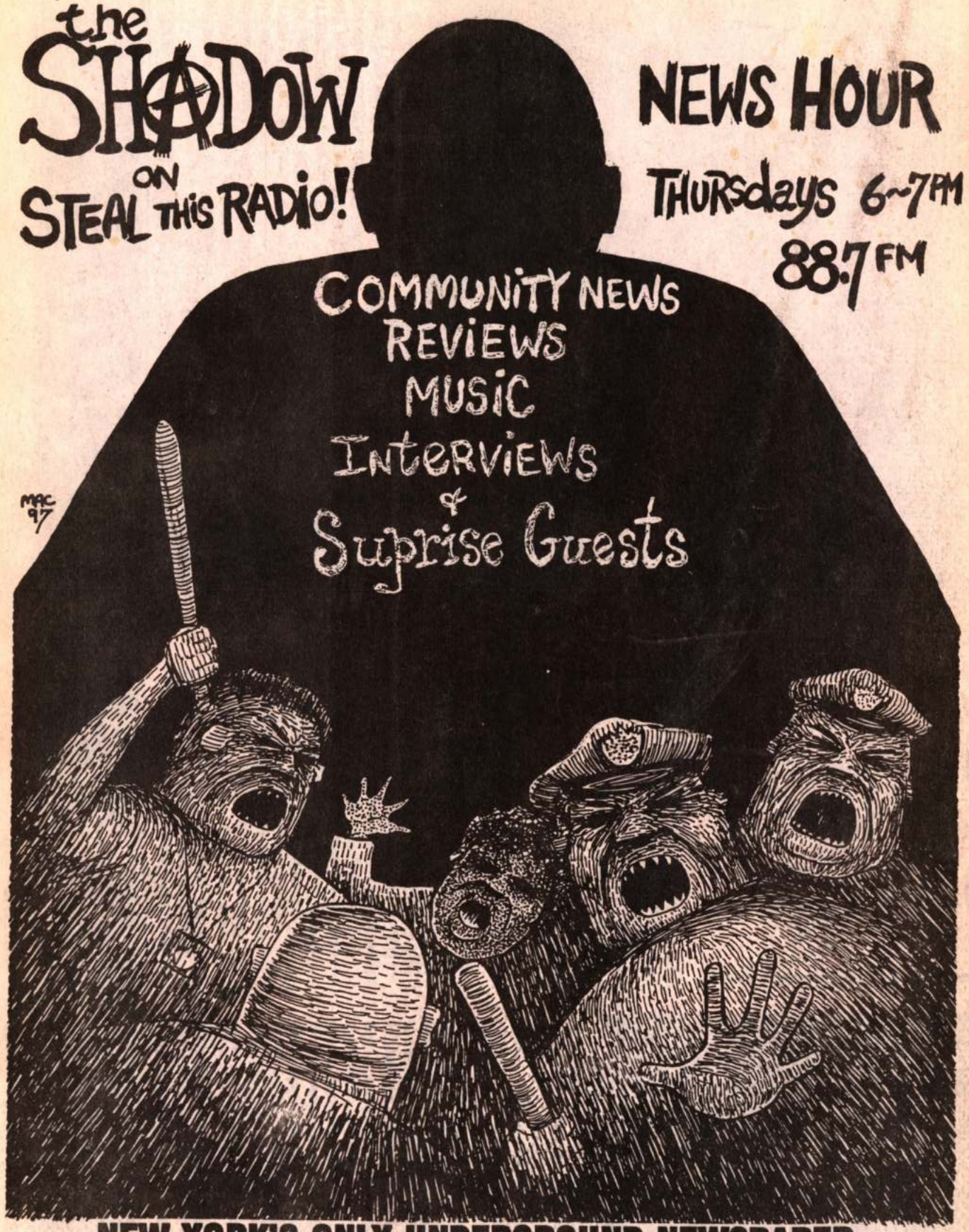
****

the SHADOW on STEAL THIS RADIO!

NEWS HOUR
THURSdays 6~7PM
88.7 FM

COMMUNITY NEWS
REVIEWS
MUSIC
INTERVIEWS
& Suprise Guests

MAC 97



NEW YORK'S ONLY UNDERGROUND NEWSPAPER
ON THE LOWER EAST SIDE'S
ONLY PIRATE RADIO STATION!!

the SHADOW

INFORMATION IS STRENGTH • KNOWLEDGE IS POWER

50¢
$1.00 OUT OF TOWN
ISSUE #42

LES GARDENS THREATENED WITH EXTINCTION!!

NYC Housing Partnership and Councilman Pagán's Real Estate Gang Conspire To Create Yuppie Condos On Community Garden Sites!